ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS MASTER'S DEGREE

PROGRAM

DIGITAL LABOR QUALITY AND NEWS QUALITY IN TURKISH

DIGITAL MAINSTREAM MEDIA

NECATİ CAN MUMAY

116680001

Assist. Prof. Esra Ercan Bilgiç

İSTANBUL

2019

DIGITAL LABOR QUALITY AND NEWS QUALITY IN TURKISH DIGITAL MAINSTREAM MEDIA

TÜRK ANA AKIM MEDYASINDA DİJİTAL EMEK KALİTESİ VE HABER KALİTESİ

Necati Can Mumay

116680001

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Esra Ercan Bilgiç...................

Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Aylin Dağsalgüler...................

Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Gökmen Hakan Karadağ...................

Tezin onaylandığı tarih: ....

Toplam sayfa sayısı: 126

Anahtar kelimeler (Türkçe)	Anahtar kelimeler (İngilizce)
1)Dijital medya	1) Digital media
2) Dijital emek	2) Digital labor
3) Haber kalitesi	3) News quality
4) Emek kalitesi	4) Labor quality
5) Dijital gazeteci	5) Digital journalist

Bu tezi yazmaya vakit bulabildiğim kendime teşekkür ederim. Umarım anlamlı bir çalışma ortaya çıkmıştır. Tez yazım süreci sırasında görüşemediğim arkadaşlarımdan özür dilerim. Anneme ve kız arkadaşıma anlayışları için ayrıca teşekkür ediyorum. Mesleğimi daha iyi anlamama yardımcı olan bir konuda çalışmaya beni teşvik ettiği için tez danışmanım Esra Ercan Bilgiç'e de teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

Necati Can Mumay

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ÖZET

'Dijital Emek Kalitesinin Haber Kalitesi Üzerindeki Etkileri' başlıklı bu çalışmada Türkiye'de uzun yıllardır yayın yapan ana akım medya kuruluşlarının internet sitelerinde çalışan dijital gazetecilerin ürettiği haber kalitesi ile söz konusu gazetecilerin emek kalitesi arasındaki ilişki incelenip anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırma esnasında dijital gazetecilerin, multimedya materyal kullanım alışkanlıkları, ana sayfa tasarımına bakışları, yalan haber hakkındaki görüşleri, işte sosyal medya kullanım seviyeleri, haber güncelliğine ilişkin görüşleri, kaynak gösterim hassasiyetleri, haberde tarafsızlık olgusuna bakışları, reytingler (tık) hakkındaki görüşleri, özel haber yapma pratikleri, kariyer beklentileri, izin günü sayıları, mola sayıları, günde haber yayınlama sayıları, iş yerine ulaşım koşulları hakkında 5 ana akım dijital yayın organından 10 görüşmeci ile derinlemesine mülakat yapılmıştır. Bu değerlendirmenin sonucunda özetle ana akım dijital medyanın başka yayın organlarının haberini kullanmada kaynak gösterme, özel haber üretme, reklam ve reyting düzenine bağlı olarak tık avcılığı odaklı başlık kullanma ve haberdeki hataları düzeltme biçimlerinde sorunlar saptanmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Dijital medya, Dijtal emek, Haber kalitesi, Emek kalitesi, Dijital gazeteci

ABSTRACT

This study, titled 'Digital labor quality and news quality in Turkish digital mainstream media,' examines the concepts of 'news quality' and 'digital labor,' which has been a topic of discussion in digital mainstream media in Turkey in recent years. During the research, findings were obtained through in-depth interviews. This study also seeks to shed light on the attitudes of digital journalists producing news. How do journalists use multimedia tools, how do they see the design of news homepages, how do they evaluate fake news, how do they use social media for work, how they make certain their digital reports are up-to-date, how do they refer to other news organizations in their articles, how much do they care about impartiality, how much do they care about ratings, how do they produce exclusive news, what are their career expectations, when are their days off and breaks during a day, news publishing count and transportation to work issues of digital journalists tried to be understood. In this context, in depth interviews were conducted with ten journalists from five mainstream digital news organizations. The selection of digital journalists in this research was based on literature. In depth interviews were conducted under fifteen titles. On the other hand, at the end of this research, it observed that digital mainstream media in Turkey has some issues giving proper attribution to other news organizations for their work, exclusive news producing, clickbait headlines related to advertisement models and correcting mistakes in the fake news.

Keywords: Digital media, Digital labor, News quality, Labor quality, Digital journalist

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to understand relations between digital labor and news quality relations in Turkish digital mainstream media. News consumption online has increased rapidly in the last two decades worldwide and also in Turkey. With social media and smartphone usage, digital news consumption has boomed.

The characteristics of digital news media due to its advertisement model and fierce competition among big news organizations separate the medium from other forms of news delivery such as television and newspapers. When the characteristics of digital news transformed, so did journalists and journalism. In the digital sphere, speed and immediacy became more important for newsrooms than accuracy and informativeness. As a result, the traditional gatekeeping mission of journalism is in question in 2019 in Turkey and around the world.

Mainstream digital news organizations appear to care more about clicks and ratings than reporting exclusive content in the current media atmosphere. Digital news organizations favor sensationalism and crime and celebrity news coverage because the revenue model is based on display advertising. When a news organization prompts a reader to click on a story, they earn money by those clicks. The desire to earn revenue drives news organizations to use the tactics of traditional tabloid press to achieve desired ratings and sales. Tabloid journalism also aims to sell more papers with sensational stories.

One of the main objectives of this research is to understand the relation between digital labor and news quality. In the first chapter, digital news is evaluated as a product. The researcher focuses on production processes of digital news with the concept of Karl Marx's (1973) production-consumption, production-exchange and production -relations. Also in the first chapter, it mentions that like every product, news has a quality scale, too.

The chapter also examines the current political economy of digital news production. The researcher used five questions for understanding political economy (Stilwell, 2002) to frame what is happening in digital news production in 2019.

For this, concepts like clickbait, fake news, display advertising and poor journalism are examined with the examples and figures from other research.

In the first chapter, the study also aimed to show who wins in the current digital media atmosphere? When trying to understand the political economy of digital news production, one thing is clear: Digital news production is a cheap business. Establishing a television channel or setting up a newspaper needs investment. But digital news production needs only one computer or a smartphone. And regardless of the size of the investment, people are making money from digital news production. Because search engines provide display advertisements to every online news site regardless of whether they produce fake news or not, digital news production can be done by anyone without any professional knowledge.

In the first chapter, the study shows that authoritarian regimes are happy with the current digital news environment because most of the digital news online are sensational stories like crime or celebrity news. These types of stories don't give regimes concern because such stories do not question their authority.

Also in the first chapter, the research elaborates on clickbait headlines and the display advertisement logic behind clickbait headlines. Search engines and some companies are paying digital news organizations for showing display advertisements on their websites. Accordingly, digital news organizations are forcing their editors to write more sensational headlines to invite readers to click on articles and thereby, the news organizations can sell more advertisements. The sensational and exaggerated headlines are often called "clickbait."

One of the most-used pattern of clickbait headlines are ranked lists. A couple of examples are '24 Pictures That Will Make You Feel Better About The World' and

'Who Wore It Better? Pics That Will Make You Laugh Out Loud' (Buzzsumo, 2017).

Fake news, especially in digital media, is a serious problem. Social media makes fake news easy to spread. Producing fake news is so easy in 2019, because anyone with a mobile phone or computer can produce it and spread it. In recent years, fact-checking organizations have established protocols to guard against false and fake information. The motivation behind producing fake news varies: Profit, partisanship, political influence and propaganda are among the many reasons. (Wardl, 2017). From time to time, digital journalists in digital media publish fake news.

Continuing the first chapter, the research elaborates on poor journalism in digital media. Exclusive content in digital media is in short supply because most of the digital newsrooms use second-hand information to produce news. They often publish information produced by other news organizations or institutions such as press releases, exclusive content from other newspapers or news agency news. (Raeymaeckers, Paulussen & De Keysers, 201). The diversity of news is scarce in digital media. The display advertisements exacerbated this famine because the revenue from advertisements shown alongside exclusive news is the same as that of advertisements accompanying an article crafted from a press release or news agency material.

The second chapter of this study examines the concept of digital labor. The occupation of digital journalism shows characteristics of digital labor, too. Fuchs and Sevignani's (2014) concept of division of digital labor used to frame digital journalistic work. The concept of digital information work also used to elaborate on digital labor. In one way or another, anyone who consumes or produces content online performs digital labor. Only a limited number of people are earning money for producing content. User-produced, or user-generated content (UGC) is provided in exchange for public visibility without payment. Social media companies use

UGC to get more advertising. Unconsciously, ordinary people perform digital labor on social media for free. And digital newsrooms, which mostly produce second-hand information, also use UGC for free.

The first chapter of the research also includes examinations of news quality. Like every product, news has quality criteria. In previous academic studies, some researchers have researched news quality from readers' points of view. Some scholars interviewed digital journalists to understand the most important quality criteria in digital journalism. Some scholars compared digital news and print news to find out which one is more qualified. This study aims to understand the news quality from a digital journalist's point of view. News quality evaluation criteria show differences for web editors and newspaper readers.

News quality criteria in digital media show some differences from other mediums because when it comes to digital news, text is not the only element. Criteria such as multimedia usage, community dialogue, interactivity and functionality involve the news quality evaluation processes. Previous studies conducted to evaluate news quality mostly focused on newspapers, while the business side of print media was naturally ignored. But in digital journalism, even the mobile data consumption is important for evaluating the digital news quality. Digital journalism combines the business side of journalism, technology and traditional journalistic values.

In the third chapter, the main focus of the research is to understand the relation between digital labor and news quality. Ten digital journalists from five digital mainstream news organizations participated in the study. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were made to understand the impact of digital laborers on news quality.

The topics addressed during the interviews are as follows:

- Fake news

- Impartiality
- Multimedia richness
- Community dialogue
- Design
- Up-to-datedness
- Career expectations
- Ratings
- Reference
- Exclusive content
- Days off
- Breaks
- Publishing count
- Transportation
- Comments on job quality

Interviews also aimed to gain insight on digital news production processes. The researcher determined 15 criteria to understand the mindset of the digital journalists who also are digital laborers. Ten digital journalists were asked 15 questions. Some criterions came from previous academic studies about news quality.

The other criteria determined by the researcher are performance, right of employment and working routine. The research aims to wholly understand which elements impact news quality besides those factors already identified by previous academic studies. That's why the researcher asked digital journalists how many news articles they publish per day, and how many breaks do they take on a usual day. How do their managers measure their job performance? Do they hope to get promotions? This study aimed to understand the digital news production processes from digital laborers' point of view.

Digital labor and news quality studies have an important place in academic literature. These two concepts are not widely examined together in media studies. Data consumption in Turkey dramatically increased in the last 10 years. A vast amount of people consume their news via mobile devices or computers. Digital news consumption has skyrocketed. There are not many studies in Turkish literature which explains the relation between digital laborer and news quality. This study aimed to show how digital labor impacts news quality.

1. DIGITAL NEWS PRODUCTION AND MARX

1.1 News production and Marx

In Grundrisse Marx (1973) asserts that capitalism commodifies all creative industries. He also mentions that cultural and creative workers are in the center of understanding the future of capitalism. When capitalism takes control over creative ability and over information, all social institutions are involved in producing information. (Mosco, 2012). Capitalism commodifies all the creative industries and social, scientific information which serve to capital when the capital reaches its higher stage (Marx, 1973). Marx (1973) believes that development of capital is not independent from social and scientific knowledge. According to Berlin (1970), enhancing capital is not only bound to expenditure of labor power in production.

Grundrisse Marx (1973) mentions the political economy of the media, too. Marx (1973) states that the ruling class who has the means of production also has modes of production for 'mental production.' Mosco (2012) emphasizes that every technological development in communication expands capitalism. Mosco is not the only scholar focused on capitalism and communication. McQuail (2005) also has focused on commercialized content.

1.1.1 News as a product

Like every good in the capitalist system news are also a product. The production, distribution and exchange process of digital news production are the same as producing a sports shoe or building a skyscraper. When digital news has emerged as a product, the production process of the digital news also emerges as an issue. Digital news as an online product, also like every product in the physical world, has a quality scale. News is considered as an information product (Fuchs, 2016). Also, the production of information and information technology are part of an international division of labor, one that continues to shape modes of production, distribution and consumption (Fuchs, 2016).

1.1.2 Marx production consumption relation with digital news

Marx says that the product becomes a product when somebody consumes it. In his work, Grundrisse (1973, pp. 24) says that consumption produces production in two aspects. Firstly, a 'product becomes a real product only by being consumed.' He gives as an example a garment: 'A garment becomes a real product only by being consumed' (Marx, 1973, pp. 24). We can see digital news in the same way. If nobody reads a digital news article, it cannot be defined as a product. When the news reaches an audience independent from its medium, then it means that the news becomes a real product like Marx's example of the garment. In that sense, news becomes a product when someone consumes it.

In the second aspect Marx (1973) asserts that production is the first step to consumption. Marx **arrays** production, distribution, exchange and consumption as a cycle.

There are limited sources for news in digital newsrooms. The necessity to constantly keep news websites up-to-date with fresh content turns digital journalists into 'mouse monkeys.' In other workds, they rarely go outside to find unique stories (**Aviles, G., Leon, B., Sanders, K., & Harrison, J, 2006**). Baisnee and Marchetti (2006) said that for digital newsrooms, 'the organization of work and haste of production often means processing news or images partly produced by others without going, and even some cases never going to the scene (Baisnee and Marchetti, 2006 p. 114). 'Partly produces by other' basically means that digital journalists consume news to produce news.

'Partly produces by other' gives a reference to Marx's (1973) famous writing of **Grundrisse** again. Marx says that there is an eternal relation between production and consumption. He wrote **that, "Without** production, no consumption but also without consumption no production" (Marx, 1973, pp. 25).

These examples can also elaborate a bit more about consuming a product when the news-making process is online. According to Raeymaeckers, Paulussen and De Keyser (2011), there are three major resources to produce a news online. Journalists extract information from press releases, they read content published by other media resources, and they use news agency reports. Using published news by other media resources and news agency materials also shows that producing digital news is a 'productive consumption' attempt in line with Marx's definition of production consumption relations**. (Marx, 1973)** Marx delves deeper when explaining the relation between production and consumption. He has asserted that consumption creates a motive for production (Marx, 1973). When a digital journalist sees that their product is read (consumed) on the internet, he or she wants to produce more **clicked** news. Deniz and Özel's (2018) study has shown us that when digital news editors pick or write a story, they pay more mind to possible ratings of the news than other considerations such as reader's comments, social media trends, and time spent reading the news.

1.1.3 News for individual needs

When it comes to consumption, a product leaves its social movement and becomes a direct object and servant of individual need (Marx, 1973). When digital news is evaluated as a product, digital news is in hands of the audience after digital journalists publish it. And it is evaluated by each individual's needs.

Juliane Urban and Wolfgang Schweiger (2014) have created normative news quality criteria according to readers' understanding. The six criteria are diversity, relevance, ethics, impartiality, comprehensibility, and accuracy. Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo (2007) have decided to measure the quality of digital news from the eyes of digital news editors and managers by another six criteria. Those criteria are content, navigation, look and feel, functionality, community relevance, and interactivity. Tuğba Akdal (2017) said in her research about news quality in online

and print journalism that news quality and trustworthiness are the two most important thing in readers eyes (Akdal, 2017). These examples can be diversified, also. As mentioned above, the production process begins a journey towards consumption. Production has relations with distribution, exchange, and consumption (Marx, 1973). News production also is not independent from distribution, exchange, and consumption.

1.1.4 Manner of news consumption

Digital news sites want to sell advertising to the big companies because it is their main, and sometimes their only, revenue source. As mentioned previously, the biggest motivation for editors is expanding their audience (Deniz and Özel, 2018). And this motivation is based on the attention economy. Journalists push their limits to expand their reach to as many people as possible because advertising technology in digital media forces them to do so. Watkins (2018) explains this phenomenon in his research. He wrote: "**A**d tech and its metrics have been found to alter the internal production of news, which may be at odds with classic journalistic commitments to objective coverage." As a result, advertising technology is harming journalistic ethics. This creates a "manner of consumption" for readers (Marx, 1973). Likewise, the tabloid style of journalism is contributing to advertising technology in many ways. Simplification and spectacularization of news are increasingly characteristic of contemporary news (Rowe, 2011). Simplification and spectacularization of the news create a manner of consumption for the readers, and organizations do it to sell more advertising.

Marx has said "that hunger is hunger. You can eat your meat with knife and fork and also with your bare hands" (Marx, 1973, pp. 25). Production is not always producing an object; it also creates a manner of consumption (Marx, 1973). Digital news readers are getting news in a sensationalized way. And they read stories in simplified ways. From Marx's perspective on the manner of consumption, people

get used to consuming their news in a certain way, and it creates a manner of consumption.

In three steps, Marx explains how production produces consumption (Marx,1973). First, journalists create material for consumption. For instance, they may use second-hand news to produces news (Raeymaeckers, Paulussen & De Keyser, 2011). Second, they determine the manner of consumption. In this case, people consume simplified and spectacular news in modern journalism due to advertising demands (Watkins, 2018; Rowe, 2011). Lastly, products are created based on the needs of the consumer. Social media reflects what readers want to read most in digital media. Kilgo, Harlow, Garcia-Perdomo and Salaverria (2016) examined four widely known news sites and their social media accounts in the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. They found that 45.8 percent of the news shared from social media accounts of widely known news sites were sensational stories.

1.1.5. Digital news production and distribution

Marx states that application of machinery changed the distribution of instruments of production as well as products (Marx, 1973). Internet can be interpreted as application of machinery to digital news production. Before the internet, telephones had a huge impact on journalism in terms of production distribution relations (Mari, 2017). The "telephone helped to spur what contemporaries called a 'titanic transformation in newspaper operations'" (Sontheimer, 1941, pp. 190). With telephone technology, action-oriented journalism emerged because any reporter could write news from anywhere in the country via telephone (Mari, 2017). The application of machinery changed the distribution of instruments of production, not just the product itself (Marx, 1973). Massive layoffs followed the invention of the telephone and developments in the telegraph technology.

When the adoption of automatic telegraph machines in the 1910s and 1920s, thousands of telegraph operators lost their jobs. Western Union employed 35,000 such operations in 1913, but by 1928, there were only 10,000. The Associated Press

reduced its force from 600 employees to 1,200 during the same period (Editor and Publisher, 1928, pp. 22). Because of the enhanced desk job of the digital news production, most experienced journalists have either resigned or been fired in thelast 10 years (Simmons, 2017).

Marx states that there are two methods when it comes to distribution of production (Marx,1973, p. 11), First is the English way. When England conquered Ireland, they forced them to produce agriculture products with an English method of production. In contrast, the Ottoman Empire and the Roman Empire left the existing mode of production intact and demanded a tribute. Digital news production is like the English method in that it forces journalists to change their manner of production. Administrations demand more work and desk jobs from journalists in terms of digital news production (Simmons, 2017; Deuze, 2005). Alongside the extra workload, which mostly comes from the old news making and newsgathering routines, fresh digital news jobs have also emerged for journalists. For instance, some journalists' job entails engaging with the audience by engaging in conversation and fostering community via social media. This type of affective labor was not traditionally in demand (Hardt & Negri, 2004, pp. 108). In that sense, a journalist must build a social network.

Then, the term, "networked journalism," emerged. Networked journalism means professional journalists and ordinary people work together for a story. It extensively refers to the ability of digital or print journalists to use their mobile phones, email, websites, blogs, micro-blogging and social networks to stay connected and informed (Sherwood & Nicholson, 2013). Employers expect their journalists to be multiskilled. According to some of academics, multiskilling in the newsroom results from economic pressure and increases journalists' workload (Bromley, 1997). Also journalists are very cautious for new types of skill required jobs because of the lesson from the past. They are aware that organizational changes in the newsroom usually come with downsizing and greater workloads.

1.1.6 Labor in digital news production

Labor shapes production. Modes of production also are distributed according to certain specialties within society. Marx states that "the distribution of product is evidently only a result of this distribution, which is comprised within the process of production itself and determines the structure of production" (Marx, 1973, p. 30). Journalism does not need staff just for writing the news. Marri said "support staff" are helping journalists create more multimedia stories. Those support staff include photographers, graphic designers, cameramen and sound engineers (Mari, 2017).This is one of the current situations in the digital news production process when we look through the lens of the general relation of production and distribution (Beckett, 2010).

Marx mentions that if anyone does not earn a wage for her or his labor, this situation can be seen as slavery (Marx, 1973). Most of the contributors to social media work for free. Terranova (2004) defines digital media users as unpaid labor. They build a community without getting paid and in return get "the pleasures of communication and exchange." In another words, Terranova (2004) sees digital labor as free labor absorbed by a capitalist production system.

As social media companies get free labor in a capitalist production model, every media institution that gets advertising uses their audiences labor like slave labor in Marx's terms. "Dallas Smythe asked the question who produces the commodity of the commercial television and found that advertising financed media. He said that 'audiences and readerships' are the workers of the commercial media. They create the 'demand for advertised goods' and by consuming media reproduce 'their own labor power'" (Fuchs, 2015, pp. 51).

1.1.7 Digital news production and exchange

Marx (1973) defines exchange third stage as the consumption after production and distribution. He asserted that exchange is the last part of the consumption road. He said that sphere of exchange of any product expands production in quantity. There

are so many examples from different branches to support these arguments. Turkey's third most visited news website, sozcu.com.tr, got 28.1 million clicks in 3rd of January 2018. About 1.8 million of the clicks came from social media. Social media is also a sphere for the exchange of goods in digital news. In 2017, 48% of digital news traffic came from the United States. The other 31% of the traffic came from search engines, 11% percent came from referral, and the other 10% came from social media (Statista, 2017). Search engine platforms, referral traffic sources, and social media platforms are an exchange medium for the digital news. When the exchange medium enlarges, the production in quantity also enlarges.

1.2 Political economy of digital news production

According to Stilwell (2011), there are three ways to define political economy of things. First, he asserted that political economy focuses on "real world" problems. Secondly, political economy focuses on how people analyze problems that they observe. Third, political economy interests' currents of economic thought which it draws. Stillwell (2002) asks five questions to interrogate political economic conditions in anything. In this chapter, Stillwell's question will be answered from the digital news media aspect. He referred to them as "political economic questions" and include: What is happening? Why? Who gains? Who loses? Does it matter? If so, what can be done about it and by whom? In this research, asking what is happening will reveal the current digital media atmosphere around the globe and also in Turkey. For this, we examine clickbait, fake news and tabloid journalism concepts. According to Stilwell, to answer what is happening a journalist needs a clear definition of the process. For the "why," we probe into the reasons for poor journalism, the financial requirement for the digital news industry, and the concept of digital advertising models.

Stilwell said that to interrogate the political economic atmosphere, one must answer "who gains, who loses?" He frames this question also as a look at winners and losers in the current atmosphere. Democracy, journalists, and readers will be considered losers, while investors and authoritarian regimes could be seen as winners. "Does

it matter" is a rhetorical question concerning news. The answer will be yes. To answer "What can be done by whom?", Stillwell recommends being an active participant (Stilwell, 2002). The answer will include what can states do and what can private companies do? Answering all these questions will draw a picture about the political economy of digital news production. Stilwell (2002) also underlines that in the present time creative political thinking is imperative.

1.2.1 The current environment of digital news production

In digital news, headlines and the selection of published stories show similarities with the traditional tabloid press. Turner (1999) explained that one of the biggest characteristic specialties of tabloid press is sacrificing information for the sake of entertainment and choosing sensation over accuracy. Sensationalism shows up mostly in headlines. Clickbait headlines in digital news are typically sensationalized to grab the reader's attention (Frampton, 2015).

The Merriam-Webster (2019) dictionary definition of clickbait is: "Something designed to make readers want to click on a hyperlink especially when the link leads to content of dubious value or interest."

The medical sector is frequently the subject of clickbait. Bolton and Yaxley (2015) said that a potential cure for cancer has been found many times over, if you were to believe clickbait headlines. They explained clickbait like this:

> Did you hear about the latest breakthrough, offering a potential cancer cure? What about the new clinical trial leading to better outcomes for an incurable problem? Or even the scandal regarding hitherto inappropriate treatment requiring a new approach to a medical condition? If you answered yes to any of the above, the chances are you have been 'click baited'(Bolton and Yaxley/2015 p. 1).

Clickbait is everywhere not just in health news. Buzzsumo (2017) analyzed 100 million randomly-selected articles on the internet and found a pattern of clickbait headlines. One examples is "24 Pictures That Will Make You Feel Better About the World," and "Who Wore It Better? Pics That Will Make You Laugh Out Loud." Buzzsumo's research identified words in the headlines that helped an article to gain more engagement on Facebook. Those words enhance the sensational effect and fuel interaction on Facebook. According to the research, the most popular words in a clickbait headline are "this," "Trump" and "how." It is a known fact that sensation helps newspapers to sell. Digital news platforms use social media as an exchange platform and use the sensation and power of clickbait to sell more news, and hence, more advertising, at online (Watkins, 2018 & Picard, 1998). It mentioned that the clickbait headlines in digital news media feed the tabloidization of digital news. So, what are the newsworthy topics for tabloid press in general, and how does digital media follow in the footsteps of tabloid press?

Tabloidization started at the end of the 19th century in England. Newspapers added sports and entertainment sections to sell more papers (Wiener, 1988 and Picard, 1998). Kalb (1997) asserts that every classic tabloid paper downgrades the hard news and upgrades sex, scandals and infotainment. American academic Kurtz (1993) said that every tabloid editor reduces the number of articles about economics and politics. Instead, the editor fills the tabloid with articles about scandals, sensation and entertainment. Picard (1998) underlines that scandals, crime, celebrities and gossip are the indispensable topics of tabloid journalism.

So far, our research has covered how clickbait headlines feed tabloid journalism in online news, especially in terms of sensation. In this part, we will show which type of news made the audience spend more time online in 2018. Chartbeat (2018) examined 60 million news articles published online in 2018. They found that readers spent more than 255.3 billion minutes online to read 60 million articles of news. In kind with tabloid tradition, the most time was spent on articles about

celebrity news, such as the obituary about world-famous chef Anthony Bourdain who took his own life in 2018 (CNN, 2018).

According to Chartbeat data, politics and hot news, human interest stories and lifestyle news are the topics on which readers spent the most time in digital news in 2018. They spent 552.4 million minutes reading "hot news and politics," 245 million minutes on human interest stories, and 165 million minutes on lifestyle stories (Chartbeat, 2018). Out of ten, the ninth category is economic news (39 million minutes). As Kurtz (1993) mentioned, online news outlets reduced politics and economic news stories instead of sensation and entertainment. The tail-end news topic online is science and technology, according to Chartbeat's data. The fourth most amount of time was spent on celebrity news. There has four politics news also in top 10.

This looks a bit contradictory within the tabloid sense. But the current president of the United States, Donald Trump symbolizes more than politics. Before winning the presidency, he was a current pop culture/celebrity figure in the country (Bryant, 2018), a TV programmer and a businessman. So, it might be worth considering that Trump news is, in fact, celebrity news. Trump means money for the news media. The digital media is getting paid for clicks. Even before he has elected, Fox and CNN's advertising fee when he was on the screen was tremendous. In September 2016 for the second Republican debate, CNN hiked ad prices to 200,000 dollars. During the GOP debate in January, Fox News charged 260,000 dollars for advertisers for spots during the debate (Alterman, 2016). The last two articles on the list were sports news and human-interest stories, which are the basic elements of the tabloid newspaper (Turner, 1999; Wiener, 1988; Picard, 1998).

Tabloidization of digital news similar in Turkey. Hurriyet Daily's digital edition, Hurriyet.com.tr, published their 2017 digital news results in December 2017. The most clicked news on the site in 2017 was a murder of a TV presenter by a former model. The story got 5.2 million clicks. Most time spend interview in 2017 given

by one of the wealthiest media bosses wife. The interview read 9.5 minutes average Hürriyet, 2017). These statistics show that the tabloid press tradition continues in digital news when it comes to attention to crime and celebrity news (Picard,1998).

Also, in social media, the tradition of the tabloid press can be observed. Social media accounts of four digital news outlets mostly focused on the Hispanic community in the United States and Latin America have shown that 45.8% of the stories distributed in social media are sensational stories. About 21.5% was lifestyle and society, 21.5 percent was crime, 16.8% was government affairs, 10.8 percent was entertainment, 9.5 percent was the economy, 8.8 percent was technology, 7.5 percent was sports, 4.3 percent international, and 4 percent was civil rights (Kilgo, Harlow, Garcia-Palermo & Salaverria, 2018).

Apart from the Trump effect, the percentage of topics are coherent with the traditional tabloid press (Wiener, 1988; Piccard, 1998; Esser, 1999). When we return to Turkey with Hurriyet's statistics, the most shared exclusive news in social media in 2017 was capturing a terrorist. The most shared video was about a police officer who risked his life for his colleagues and citizens. And the most shared column was about a teacher who abused his students sexually in southeastern Turkey (Hürriyet, 2017).

Fake news is one of the biggest problems in today's digital news environment. According to research by Reuters Institute (2018), 60 percent of Turkish internet users are not sure about the accuracy of information from news sources. Readers in Brazil took first place in the percentage who are "very or extremely concerned about what is real and what is fake on the internet when it comes to news." About 85 percent of Brazilian readers indicated they are not sure about the accuracy of information they read online. Turkey ranked 14th with the 60 percent.

Turkey held a presidential and parliament election June 24th, 2018. The factchecker platform, Teyit.org (2018) found that from April 18th until July 4th, denunciation of the suspicious news figures to the platform was 1460. 1460 denunciation was about

315 different information in the news. Platform reported that requests to verify information doubled during election time when compared with the first three and a half months of 2018.

Doğruluk Payı, one of the factchecking platforms in Turkey, published an outlook for news accuracy in 2018. They checked 158 allegations, 75 press releases, 45 videos, 17 tests and 26 promises by politicians mostly published online. The team gave "accuracy points" for topics like industry and finance, agriculture, education, economy, elections, and health. The accuracy score was 6.1 out of 10 for stories published about these topics (Doğruluk Payı, 2018). These findings showed that fake news in Turkish digital media is a big problem as in the rest of the world.

Fake news is simply a continuation of the yellow press journalism that began in the late 19th century. The Public Domain Review (2017) explains: "Fake news is simply a new term for what was coined yellow journalism in the 1890s, though this kind of information existed long before then." Cambridge Dictionary (2017) defines fake news as "false stories that appear to be news, spread on the internet or using other media, usually created to influence political views or as a joke." Fake news improved in time, from tabloid papers to internet. Like old tabloids, online platforms still rely on images and attention-grabbing headlines. (Ireland, 2018)

According to Kshetri and Voas (2017), fake news and false information naturally comes in two forms: misinformation and disinformation. Wardl (2017) has created the "misinformation matrix." She has categorized misinformation into seven criteria. These are satire or parody, false connection, misleading content, false context, imposter content, manipulated content, and fabricated content.
Spreading fake news on social media is a hot topic in academics. Fake news in social media peaked during the time of the U.S. elections in November 2016 (Victoria University, 2018). The influence of fake news on election results has been debated ever since. Even Oxford Dictionary chose "post-truth" as the word of 2016 (Oxford Dictionary, 2016).

Post-truth as a concept is defined in Oxford Dictionary (2016) as "a relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than what appeals to emotion and personal belief." Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerbeg testified in the U.S. Congress about fake news and a possible Russian intervention in the U.S. elections in 2016. Zuckerberg admitted that Facebook did not do enough to prevent fake news it its own platform (Watson, 2018).

According to a study conducted by Hindman and Barash (2018), about 6.6 million links featuring fake news and conspiracy news were shared on Twitter one month before the November 2016 U.S. presidential election. The study revealed that 4 million tweets linked to fake news or conspiracy sites between March and April 2017. As of October 2018, 80 percent of the accounts that were subjected to their study were still active and publishing more than 1 million tweets per day.

A group of academics have followed trends about the diffusion of misinformation on social media. Allcott, Gentzkow and Yu (2018) have examined 10,240 fake news stories on Facebook and Twitter, which were published between January 2015 and July 2018. Three academics have asserted that after the U.S. presidential election, consumption of fake news declined 50 percent on Facebook while it continued to increase on Twitter. According to the study, before the election, monthly average engagement with fake news was 200 million on Facebook. After the election, it decreased to 70 million.

The quality of online news is always a discussion topic. Akdal (2017) asserts that page layout and comprehensibility of the content are the most controversial topics in digital news production. According to her research, Akdal said that the attendees who participate to her work on credibility issues in digital and print news, have cited that digital news sites harming the trust between traditional newspapers and readers (Akdal, 2017).

Urban and Schweiger (2014, p. 1) have underlined that monetization of digital news violates journalistic quality. Two academics have underlined these arguments like this: "Fierce competition on the web, increased commercialization and a turbulent economic environment may prompt media organizations to violate journalistic quality norms in order to remain competitive."

They have put the audience in focus to measure the quality of the news in six categories. Those are diversity, relevance, ethics, impartiality, objectivity, and comprehensibility. According to their study, readers notices the "lack of different opinion" most in a low-quality article. Overall, readers care about the comprehensibility in the news most (with 17 percent). Akdal (2017) has examined two big Turkish daily newspapers (Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet) and their online sites for two weeks in terms of news quality for the same story. She found that 30 print news articles included 43 official sources, while 55 digital news about the same topic included only 25 official sources. As a result, she noted, print news is more credible than digital news (Akdal, 2017).

1.2.2 Clickbait headlines in digital media

As mentioned above, one of the main aims of tabloid newspapers is to sell more papers with sensational content (Johnson and Wiener, 1988; Picard, 1998; Kurtz,1993). Daily circulation of national newspapers in England as of June 2018 can help to interpret this aspect. The Sun is the most selling newspaper in the United Kingdom. Its overall daily sales are about 1.5 million. And the second most selling paper is the Daily Mail, with an overall daily circulation of nearly 1.3 million. Among the top ten, broadsheet paper The Times ranks eighth with an overall daily circulation of 428,000 (Statista, 2018).

We can see how the tabloid papers sell also with the same journalism in online. According to statistics from Alexa on January12, 2019, the Daily Mail's digital

edition, dailymail.co.uk, receives an average of 2.73 daily pageviews per visitor. This means that dailymail.co.uk took first place in the daily pageviews-per-visitor category in digital news media. The second news sites in that category is the BBC online edition. Every individual who visited the bbc.com reads 2.61 articles. The third is Guardian.com with 2.58 pageviews (Alexa, 2019). When we evaluate this figure ,we also should consider that the BBC is the public broadcaster in the U.K. and its audience extends across the globe. Also, the Guardian is considered to be a respectable broadsheet and is a reference newspaper for other newspapers.

The Daily Mail delivers its commercial success in digital with the same journalism it offers in print. Like its classic tabloid newspaper, Daily Mail uses sensationalism via clickbait to sell advertisements. Wikipedia's founder Jimmy Wales (CNBC, 2017) has said that the Daily Mail mastered of the art of fake news and clickbait, and they make money from that approach. Wales continued: "I think what they've done brilliantly in this ad-funded world is they've mastered the art of clickbait; they've mastered the art of hyped-up headlines; they've also mastered the art of, I'm sad to say, of running stories that simply aren't true" (CNBC, 2017). Before this declaration from Wales, Wikipedia announced that the Daily Mail won't be accepted as a credible source for their website anymore (Jackson, 2017).

If a newspaper sells more copies, it means that it gets more advertisement (Finney, 2016). And tabloids owe to these sales mostly to the sensational topics they choose to print. The tabloid tradition of the Daily Mail achieves financial success also due to its clickbaited headlines. Daily Mail's online advertisement sales overtook print for first time in history in September 2018. MailOnline's ad sales rose 5 percent to 122 million pounds, print ad sales fell 9 percent to 117 million pounds (Spainer, 2018). Axel Springer's booming digital native media brand Business Insider (BI) also had tremendous revenue growth in 2017. BI boosted its revenue 45 percent. About 400 million people visit BI every month with about 5 billion pageviews (Business Insider, 2018). Business Insider also is among the platforms that rely heavily on clickbait (Berhidsky, 2016).

Government of England (2017) has worked on a legal bill to address clickbait and low-quality news in digital media. Prime Minister Theressa May called this program a "review on press sustainability." This is the paragraph that Government of England have mentioned the tackle on with clickbait and advertisement system around it:

"A key focus of the review will be the local and regional press who face an uncertain future. The review will also assess the operation of the digital advertising supply chain including funding flows and its role in creating or reducing value for publishers. It will also look at clickbait and low-quality news and if there is more that can be done to tackle this issue and undermine any commercial incentives associated with it."

Earlier this thesis highlighted how the traditional tabloid journalism reflexes drives online journalism to show more advertisement and make more money. The information the public receives is always shaped by advertisers and their needs. In the digital media environment, advertising technology alters the news production process, which is at odds with classical journalistic commitments to objective coverage (Watkins, 2018).

With that advertising technology in digital news, journalism moves away from its origins and become a "consummate branding medium." For instance, Coca-Cola's advertising priorities are mostly focused on the international community, but they do not focus on the taste of the product (Turow, 2012). Like Watkins' (2018) explanation of how the journalism moves away from its origins, Turow (2012) adds that the medium also becomes a marketplace for advertising business.

Digital advertising is generally based on two products. Online search engine ads and display ads (**iab**, 2018). According to figures provided by Internet Advertising Bureau (**iab**) in the United Kingdom, "display-ad, non-video advertising"

investments rose 9 percent to 1.33 billion pounds. The video display-ad advertising investment rose 40 percent to 967 million pounds. The total percent in the digital ad investment in the U.K., display-ad and non-video display-ad combined was 49 percent of the total digital ad spending in first half of the 2018 (iab, 2018). The total spending on digital ads during the same period was about 6.4 billion pounds.

Advertisers spent 1.212 billion Turkish Liras on digital advertising in the first half of 2018. In the same period in 2017, it was 1.063 billion liras. About 58 percent of digital ad spending in Turkey came from display advertisements. Companies spent 703 million liras to display advertisement, about 14 percent more than the first half of 2017. These figures mean that advertisers are investing more money in display ads. On one hand, the advertisement spending is increasing; on the other hand, smartphone pageviews on 20 Turkish websites rose to more than 4.3 billion. In June 2017, the most clicked websites in mobile pageview figures was 3.90 billion. In June 2018, the figure was 4.35 billion. Traffic rose 11.5 percent year-on-year (iab Turkey). As previously mentioned, widespread digital-based tabloid newspapers have published sensationalist, clickbait stories to make more money from advertisement. In some situations, advertisers also use clickbait titles to make their advertising more visible (Hicks, 2014).

The company who gets the most revenue from digital advertising is Alphabet, the parent company of Google, with 116 billion dollars in 2018 (Statista, 2018). Google has two types of advertisement: Google Ad Words and banner advertisements (Google.com, 2019). Ad Words displays companies' ads in search results based on an auction system. The auction bid system is calculated by Google with bidding figures and ad quality results. Google gives the following example for the showing how the system works: When someone searches "fresh flower delivery" in the Google search engine, the flower shops bid to have their ads displayed among the search results. These words are calculated with the quality of the ad. Google determines whether the ad's landing page has high quality or not. Google

determines it by measuring how the ad is relevant to the page results. When Google decides that the quality of the advertisement landing page is good and the company's bid is high enough, then Google makes the ad appear with the search results. Companies make the bid by cost per click (CPC). Business owners are charged by Google only when the internet users click on the ad which appears with the search results. Only two ad spaces are available with the search results. The ad that is most relevant to the topic takes the first spot, and the second ad is displayed at the bottom of the first ad (Google, 2019).

Google also provides display advertisements alongside Ad Words. Two million websites show Google display ads. Google can target the audience with these advertisements. Every parameter narrows the population for targeting advertisement. For instance, if someone sets up their ad for a woman actively looking to buy a house, the ad will have a more narrowly targeted reach than an ad targeted to all the people in the market for real estate (Google, 2019).

News sites also gets paid for each click on display ads. Like in the rest of the world, display ad are still the most widely invested advertisement type in digital media. Fifty-eight percent of digital ad spending in Turkey comes from display advertisements (iab Turkey, 2018). Due to Google's payment per click to the websites, more clicks are essential for digital news services to make revenue.

Google (2019) explains that news sites can make money by putting Google ads on their websites (AdSense). Google acknowledges that blog sites, news sites, forums and discussion boards, niche social networks, and free online tools are perfect for displaying advertisements. So digital news publishers have a fierce motivation to display more ads to make more money from advertising. Some experts assert that clickbait headlines to show more advertising are ruining the ethics of journalism (Larcom, 2017).

In 2017 for the first time in history, digital ad spending surpassed TV ads. According to Magna Digital, ad spending reached to 201 billion dollars at the end of 2017, while TV ad spending was 178 billions of dollars. In 2017, digital ad spending was 41 percent of the total advertisement market, and the share of TV ads was 35 percent (Magna, 2017).

These types of display ads are also harming the user experience with distracting visuals, slow loading of content and burdening the user's mobile data consumption. For that reason alone, some readers might move away from commercial news sites to social media, which they think is less commercialized than digital media in the display ad sense (Watkins, 2018). In 2015, the homepage of The LA Times was consuming 5.7 megabytes of mobile data. Journalistic content on the homepage was only 1.6 megabyte of that total. And the remaining 73 percent of the data was consumed by display ads. Also, the loading times of the site was seven seconds more, 175 percent more than the usual loading time (Chen, 2015).

In 2018, Google launched a digital advertising program called the Coalition for Better Ads (Google, 2018). The Coalition team did research with 66,000 internet users. The results showed which types of display ads are harming the user experience in the eyes of users. Here are the results according to conclusions of the coalition's research: Pop-up ads, auto-playing video ads with sound, large sticky ads, prestitial ads (mobile), ad density higher than 30 percent (mobile), flashing animated ads (mobile), and full-screen scrollover ads (mobile) (Better Ads, 2018). In light of this research, Google decided to block these kinds of ads in its own web browser Chrome, which has 67.6 percent of the global market share (Statista, 2018).

Like the attempts of Google to create a more sustainable online ad environment affects the ad-supported dominant business model of digital media. This business model focuses on free content in exchange for the display ads. In response, many programmers are launching applications to block display advertisements. Ad

blocker software blocks the ads that disturb user experience. Redondo and Aznar (2018) wrote that "Ad blockers refer to various software tools (most typically browser plug-ins) that monitor browsers requests for editorial and advertising content and prevent the display of any advertising content that matches an entry in the blacklists maintained by adblocking companies/user communities."

1.2.2.3 Fake news in digital media

The motivations behind fake news writing are various. Simply, whether qualified or not, anybody can cheaply create a news site cheaply. Likewise, anybody can create fake content without a significant investment (DiLascio-Martinuk, 2019).

Money also is a motive for publishers to create fake news. Publishers profit from the advertising money which comes from clicks. And those clicks are easily obtained from fake news because advertisers pay per view independent from the content itself (DiLascio-Martinuk, 2017). Some writers who confess that they took 1,000 dollars for an article which was based on lies and was biased against U.S. presidential candidate Hillary Clinton who ran for office in November 2016 (Shane, 2017).

The current technology for digital advertising cannot distinguish fake news, clickbait or any other non-reader-friendly news elements. Some draw a parallel between the digital advertising business and the Wild West. No sheriff is on the horizon, and "the responsibility will fall to publishers to improve the ad and media experiences" (Adweek, 2016).

Online journalism and tabloid journalism have common points in terms of an entertainment perspective. Likewise, fake news and viral content serves as this kind of entertainment tool, too. The wall between news and entertainment is getting thinner by the day. That's one of the reasons why fake news so easily spreads (Browning and Sweetster, 2018).

Some scholars named this situation "infotainment," and it is one of the reasons why fake news is so widespread (Greenslade, 2017). Wardl (2017) asserts that there are eight situations which can lead us to fake news: poor journalism, parody, provocation, passion, partisanship, profit, political influence, and propaganda. She has created a "misinformation matrix" to understand for which reason fake news was created. As she has underlined in her "misinformation matrix," when these eight reasons which leads us to fake news collaborate with, satire or parody, false connection, misleading content, false content, imposter content, manipulated content and fabricated content. (Wardl, 2017).

"Go viral" impulse for ordinary citizen is one of the keystones to fabricating content for online. Some people believe that social media companies must do better to block fake news. Former U.S. President Barack Obama is one of them (Business Insider, 2016).

1.2.2.4 Poor journalism in digital media

As it mentioned at the top, news quality is always a topic of discussion in the digital medium. In digital journalism, news sources for journalists are limited (Raeymaeckers, Paulussen & De Keyser, 2011; Akdal, 2017). The limited sources detracts from the diversity of the stories.

Poor journalism in digital news media has its roots in tabloids. For a tabloid paper, investment in quality journalism is not a priority. Tabloids enforce discipline but do not care about quality principles in journalism (Bastos, 2016). Some experts say that the limited sources of information and the nature of the desk job makes a digital news editor a "mouse monkey" (Alvares, 2004). The race against time in digital news production makes the production time less than ever. There is little time to control quality. Sometimes, unchecked fake news can even be published in high quality newspapers (Mueller and Langer, 2018). Another reason for the fake news is poor journalism. Poor journalism can lead journalists to false connections, misleading content and also false content (Wardl, 2017).

According to Reuters Digital News Report (2018), poor journalism worries citizens as much as fake news. About 42 percent of respondent said that they had encountered poor journalism in the last week. The report categorized poor journalism in three dimensions: factual mistakes, misleading headlines, and clickbait.

In Norway and Austria, people are more concerned about poor journalism than fake news. One of the respondents from the United States was aware that quality journalism requires investment. He said: "I now realize that good journalism requires money. If I keep relying on free news stories, the quality of journalism I get will be dumbed down and made much worse" (Reuters Digital News Report, 2018, p.49).

In the report, readers asserted that low quality journalism was caused by cheap digital newsrooms. One of the readers from the United States said that she pays for The Guardian Online because it is worth it. Poor journalism in digital news is recognized by print journalists, too. In the well-known Netflix series, House of Cards, there are lots of refence to digital journalist Zoe Barnes. In the series, most of the print journalists insult Barnes' work and mostly deem her inadequate to be a journalist because of her social media usage and ambition in digital media (Ferucci and Painter, 2017).

1.2.2.5 Who loses?

Previous sections of this thesis have stated that tabloid journalism has many similarities to digital journalism in terms of journalistic quality and newsrooms. According to Myers (2019), the media has always considered itself a defender of democracy. But having a free press does not mean that people lives in an advanced democracy. Myers uses the examples of NFL player Colin Kaepernick's kneel protest to elaborate her definition of media and democracy relation: We don't delve into the deeper reasons why people are protesting. The story of the NFL protests

lacks any perspective on why Colin Kaepernick chose to take a knee and instead focuses on who else is taking the knee and which actors will react in what way. If we don't tell the story in a way that puts the reason people are protesting front and center, we damage our democracy (Myers, 2019). Myers has underlined in that phrase that lack of diversity and comprehensibility in news damages democracy. Furthermore, readers are aware of whether news has comprehensibility or not (Urban and Schweiger, 2014).

McChesney (2016) has asserted that a democratic society needs independent, powerful and credible journalism. He has developed an understanding about undemocratic journalism systems. McChesney (2016) has asserted that in a democratic system, people don't have to have news institutions that are publishing and producing content only for elites and a ruling class.

Some academics have said that the tabloid press (which has a great influence on digital journalism) publishes stories more about celebrities than hard issues. And it reduces politics and economy news in the medium (Wiener, 1988; Piccard, 1998; Esser,1999). McChesney (2016) says in democratic journalism, whoever reads the stories shares an understanding about how the world works.

Some thinkers also have stated that monetization of the news via advertising is harming digital journalism. Turner (2018) has said that the amount of advertising revenue determines what practice and what content prevail in digital journalism. He has defined that monetization of the press has always been an enemy of democratization. But the connection between media and the public interest had already weakened before the digital era.

According to some scholars, the workload in digital journalism is more than the workload in traditional print journalism. Technological improvements in the digital news-making process always bring economic difficulties and cutbacks. Bromley (1997) has said that technological developments in journalism bring "multiskilling"

to the newsroom, which increases the workload. Multiskilling demands more from journalists. It causes burnout and higher stress levels. Multiskilling is required because of the newly introduced technologies in journalism. Also this multiskilling is perceived by journalists as more work. One digital journalist in Turkey explained burnout and work-leisure balance in digital journalism with these words: "After from one point you don't have a distinction with your personal and work life. Even if you are not in the office they always call you to demand new stories. Administration values how much news you entered the system today and how are the ratings of these stories" (Demir and Bulut, 2018).

In this new media environment, journalists often evaluate technology in a skeptical way because they feel that technological advancements in journalism bring institutional and organizational changes to their work. They feel that technology means much more work and layoffs (Deuze, 2002).

It was previously mentioned that poor journalism harms democracy. It also harms the reading experience. Only 56 percent of readers in Malaysia have said that the content published by digital media satisfies their need for information. About 50.7 percent said that "the content of the online newspaper make news reading more interesting" (Isyaku, Mohd and Engku, 2015).

It is apparent that readers are complaining about a variety of topics in online journalism. As aforementioned, digital journalism follows in the news producing tradition of tabloids, and tabloids cover certain stories more than politics or economy.

According to the survey conducted by Twipe (2018), 18.9 percent of readers said that they are paying for digital websites to get news because they are "looking for a news source that covers a particular topic or issue." This group of people has also stated that they are ready to pay for digital journalism.

That shows that readers are not satisfied with free online content in terms of format. As previously stated, online news sources are limited and often based on second-hand information (Raeymaeckers, Paulussen & De Keyser, 2011; Akdal, 2017).

Fritch and Cromwell, (2001) also have questioned the credibility of online news. They have stated that online journalism basically can be done by anyone. In other words, digital journalism has not always been performed by professionals. Meanwhile, Manninen (2017) has said that online journalism neglects the traditional journalism objective of gatekeeping.

1.2.2.6 Who gains?

Everybody can set up a news site to make digital journalism because it is cheap (DiLascio and Martinuk, 2019). Without an investment, everybody can make money from digital journalism instead of print journalism. In the United States, after the 9/11 attacks, a recession slowed the economy. This recession reduced the advertising spending for newspapers and accelerated digital transformation because most of readers in the United States wanted to consume news for free (Grueskin, Seave, and Graces, 2011).

Likewise, the relatively cheap digital media business also accelerated in Turkey during the 2001 financial crisis. At the beginning of 2000, small companies had begun to launch digital news sites. Lots of experienced but unemployed journalists started to run these sites, and some of them had success. The 2001 crisis essentially sowed digital journalism in Turkey.(Kalsın, 2016).

Gleenslade (2014) has explained that entrepreneurs don't pay too much money for digital journalists. Most of the time, they can give more responsibility without providing extra compensation.

Entrepreneurs also lower the labor costs to maximize their profit, a classic Marxist approach (Marx, 1973). Online publications are eager to pay money to a few

experienced editors or inexpensive trainees. Between these scales everyone is underpaid (Gleenslade, 2014).

Roses, (2011) has did research after the 2008 economic crisis in Spain with 1,000 journalists to measure wages in journalism. According to his research, 61.8 percent of digital journalists in Spain earned low income. About 52.9 percent of freelancers earned low income. The most crowded group who earned high income was television journalists with 44.1 percent. Only 19.3 percent of the TV journalists earned low income, which is the most lowest income percent in all groups from press journalists to news agency journalists. Entrepreneurs and media bosses are winners in the current digital journalism business structure because it is easy to set up, and wages are relatively less than any other news business.

The similarities between tabloid journalism and digital journalism were mentioned above. Tabloid journalism does not focus on quality journalism and diversity of topics. It has a pattern of covering certain types of news more often, like celebrity news and crime (Picard, 1998). The undemocratic regimes also are winners of the current online news environment. Diversity is a news quality criterion in Urban and Schweiger's (2014) work. Authoritarian regimes do not favors pluralism. The news content published in authoritarian regimes delivers pro regime messages and does not provide pluralistic information, or pluralism is severely limited (Linz, 2000). According to the Freedom House's Freedom on the Net 2018: The Rise of Digital Authoritarianism (Freedom House, 2018) report, online propaganda and disinformation have increasingly poisoned the digital space. Institution's Research Director Shahbaz has written that authoritarian regimes use fake news to consolidate their control over the information (Freedom House, 2018). Immediacy and speed are very important for digital journalist. Who reported the news first is very important for some of them (Warzel, 2012).

Some journalist also have asserted that when breaking news happens, such as the Boston bombing in 2013, readers can't be satisfied with what they read in digital news and some of them prefer to read a better article in the next day's paper (Meyer, 2018). In authoritarian regimes like China, the state has decided when information is going to be published in some cases. They control people's agenda. Liebman (2015) has advocated that the internal media also allows the power holders to decide when the information is going to be published.

The digital journalism environment tends to publish certain types of news more than hard content such as politics and economy (Chartbeat, 2018; Kilgo, Harlow, Garcia-Perdomo and Salaverria, 2018). It is also a tradition that comes from the tabloid journalism to boost the sales.

This attitude helps the authoritarian regimes because people consume crime and celebrity news instead of politics. In that way, the presence of online media helps authoritarian regimes to remain in power (Anceschi, 2017).

Authoritarian regimes have power to stop people from communicating via technological tools. For instance, in Kazakhstan in April 2014, "media blocking power" was given to the attorney general. The amendment allowed the regime to block any website without waiting for a court order (Tag News, 2019).

1.2.2.7 What can be done?

The big tech companies and governments should warn their citizens. They should take precautions to prevent clickbait headlines. The English government has investigated the current digital media environment in the U.K. The British government has acknowledged that the way people consume news is changing and Facebook and Google take a large slice from the advertisement cake.

The government of England will be investigating how the digital advertising supply chain affects the health of news media. The English government looks determined to fight back against clickbait. Here is a quotation from the press sustainability

review: "It will also look at clickbait and low quality news and if there is more that can be done to tackle this issue and undermine any commercial incentives associated with it (Government UK, 2018)."

Facebook (2017) declared a plan to fight back against clickbait in May 2017. The company announced three major precautions against clickbait:

 1) Clickbait headlines will be analyzed on an individual level to show less on the platform.
2) Facebook will evaluate headlines in two categories: headlines that withhold information and headlines that exaggerate information.
3) Facebook will launch a headline algorithm to prevent clickbait.
States and private companies also have to fight against fake news. Laws must discourage fake news. Some countries have passed new bills to fight against fake news. Laws can be controversial in terms of daily enforcement, but still a number of countries have declared fake news as a crime.

The Malaysian Government made fake news illegal in 2018. In Malaysia if someone publishes a fake news article intentionally, he or she can get a prison sentence up to six years and 120,000 dollars (Reuters, 2018). Cambodia passed a bill about fake news in 2018, too. The bill included two years' jail and 1,000 dollars in fines for persons who produce fake news online. Some 117 civil society organizations raised their voice against the law due to concerns that the law has the possibility to bring injustice to the media institutions (Guardian, 2018). The Indian government withdrew their draft law on punishing fake news last year because of strong criticism (CNN, 2018).

Burkhardt (2018) has suggested that if people want to avoid fake news they should learn about "search engine ranking," they should be selective about who they follow on social media, they should watch out for ID Bots, they should read before sharing, they should check the facts, they should evaluate the information, they should seek

the information beyond the filter bubble, they should use verification and educational tools, and be skeptical.

Social media companies also can ban accounts that spread fake news online. Twitter suspended more than 70 million accounts between May and June 2018. Twitter Vice President and President for Trust and Safety Del Harvey told the Washington Post that Twitter changed the calculus to promote confidence in public discourse and preserve safety (Washington Post, 2018). In June 2018, Facebook also announced that it would take five steps to fight against fake news. Facebook promised to collaborate with academics about fake news and to expand its fact-checking program to new countries (Facebook, 2018). Facebook collaborated with teyit.org in Turkey to check the facts which were shared on its platform (Teyit, 2018).

As mentioned, digital journalism wages are modest due to the low cost of doing business (Gleenslade, 2014, Aviles, G., Leon, B., Sanders, K., & Harrison, J., 2006). Employers need to pay better to improve the quality of the content.

High-quality personell often leaves newsrooms for a higher paid jobs. According to a study by Everbach and Flournoy (2007), one veteran journalist, who joined a new advertising agency, said that she doesn't feel the same passion for the job as she feels for journalism, but the new job pays better. She also described her new work as "too fake and too commercial." Another respondent said that she quit journalism and became a public relations consultant because she described journalistic pay as insulting. The work of Everbach and Flournoy (2007) also has shown that young men give up less often on journalism than young woman, because young woman have the flexibility to stay in the business if their husbands or partners earn good salaries.

A new media graduate in 2010 said:

36

"Salaries are typically low and pay [raises] are rarely forthcoming. This is fine when you are fresh out of university with no commitments and the debt [is] something that can be dealt with at some other time. But eventually you start having to make important decisions like settling down (with a partner), deposits and mortgages, kids, career and just how much disposable income you want" (Gleenslade, 2010).

This answer showed that the pay scale should be higher than it is. British Labor Party leader Jeremy Corbyn has a solution for the low pay in journalism. He has suggested levying a new kind of tax on big tech companies such as Facebook and Google which are hosting public debate. Corbyn suggested that the tax revenue should be spend on non-profit digital media institutions to improve the quality journalism (BBC, 2018). Digital advertisements on clickbait are a financial motivation for news sites to attract traffic with clickbait headlines. The government of the United Kingdom (2018) is aware of this situation and is investigating ways to make it better.

2. NEWS QUALITY AND DIGITAL LABOR

2.1 News quality outcomes

"Rough competition on the web and commercialization of the digital media violates the journalistic quality on the web. Readers mostly [will] be exposed to inaccurate, incomplete and biased news" (Urban and Schweiger, 2014, p.1). Also, the biggest traditional papers' digital editions don't always publish news with high quality.

Shortage of staff and time pressure increase shallowness and misinformation and damage the quality of the news (Salverria, 2005; Craig, 2011). As a result of the critical approach to digital media, cyberspace does not give value to the news. Ordinary citizens who have no profession or education related to journalism or involvement in news production, makes the information complicated and pulls down the news quality to a basic level (Akdal, 2017). Urban and Schweiger (2014) **demotes** the news quality into six criteria: diversity, relevance, ethics, impartiality, comprehensibility, and accuracy.

The two scholars have elaborated on these six criterions related to the quality of news.

Diversity: All social groups and ideas must be in the journalistic content.
Relevance: News must address socially relevant issues.
Accuracy: Citizens make adequate decisions when they read complete and accurate information. That's why accuracy is vital for news quality.
Comprehensibility: Even if information is complete and correct, it can only be useful if it is understood by recipients.
Impartiality: To ensure citizens have free and competent opinions, journalism needs to guarantee a neutral and balanced coverage off all facts, demands, and positions.

One of the questions in the literature is are readers aware of the quality of news content? Some scholars have stated that readers can't understand quality in

the news in a technical sense due to their lack of background information and journalistic content (Beck, Reineck & Schubert, 2010).

Confrontation of these arguments in some studies have shown that readers' taste in news is closed to the normative news quality criteria (Pew, 2012). Urban and Schweiger (2014) have analyzed 1,120 readers' answers in Germany and have found out which normative criterion of news quality is more important than another for ordinary readers.

Comprehensibility of the news is most valuable normative news quality criterion, according to the study. For comprehensibility, the impact of quality ratings on overall quality evaluation is 17 percent. Under the title of impartiality, neutrally-written content, is the second most influential news quality criterion with 11 percent. The normative news quality criterion of least concern from the readers is accuracy of the news.

Akdal (2017) has examined the quality differences of news in digital and print. She has examined 30 print and 55 digital news articles, which were published in Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet daily newspapers on the front page and homepage for a certain period of time. According to her study, digital news has more extensive information than news in print.

Out of the 55 digital news articles, 10 came from the print edition without any editorial interference from the digital team, 17 included more extensive information than the print edition and 15 news have put to the news site as an abstract version.

Akdal underlined that including more extensive information does not mean that digital news is more accurate than print. She has elaborated that 30 print news articles included 90 photos with 41 captions, and 55 digital news articles had 74 photographs with five captions. Also 43 official resources were cited in 30 print news articles, while only 25 official sources were cited in the 55 digital news stories. Seven unofficial sources were cited in 30 print news articles compared with

eight unofficial sources cited in the 55 digital news stories. Akdal has defended that these figures show print news are more accurate than digital news.

Impartiality is also a research topic in Akdal's (2017) work. She has discovered that 63 expressions that contain comments in 30 print news articles and 49 found in 55 digital news. Also she has found 21 expressions which were inclined to take sides in 30 print news articles and 20 of the same in the 55 digital news stories. She also detected 21 articles in 30 print editions that manipulate the readers, while she has discovered 17 articles in 55 digital news. Lastly, she found that 14 articles in 30 print news editions did not distinguish between reality and allegations. She discovered 11 articles like that in print and 55 news in digital. In light of these findings, she has asserted that print news is not more accurate than digital news.

Traditional normative journalistic quality criteria are also valid for digital journalists. Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo (2007) have listed 38 criteria and sub-criteria to understand which criterions are more important for online news editors in the case of news quality. One-hundred-forty-three editors participated in the online survey. Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo (2007) have listed 38 news quality criterions into six categories for online news quality. Those categories are content, navigation, look and feel, community relevance, and interactivity. The differences between normative news quality criterions (Urban and Schweiger, 2014) and online quality criterions are distinctive. For instance, these is a title with interactivity. Interactivity includes sub-criterions like multimedia richness, interactive reading, and community dialogue. From online news managers to online news editors, 143 people were asked to identify which news quality criteria are most important for them. Content was number one with 5.72 mean, navigation, look and feel, functionality, community relevance, and interactivity are followed in order (Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo, 2007). Content criterions include sub-criterions like credibility, utility, immediacy, relevancy, fact-opinion separation, exclusivity, good writing, good illustration, depth, breadth, outside commentary, and editorial vigor.

Given that web editors prioritize content first, this means that news web site credibility is a supreme concern for them, according to the study. This outcome presents an irony. Content on the web is generally considered untrustworthy and inaccurate in some academic works, but still, web editors have said that content is the most important thing for them (Stanford, 2006).

Navigation also is an important news quality criterion for web editors, according to Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo's (2007) work. Navigation includes sub-criteria like user experience, ease of use, clear paths, speed, ad efficiency, familiarity, user choice, and a quick read. 'Ease of use' is the most valued navigation sub-criterion with a 6.46 mean (Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo, 2007).

Aropulos, Cambazoglu, Peleja and Magalhaes (2016) have created a pattern to measure linguistic benchmarks in online news article quality. They have tried to measure the quality of an online article without using any context information, just the article itself. They have detected five orthogonal criteria to evaluate digital news quality, and each criterion has sub-criteria. They are as follows: Readability (fluency, conciseness), informativeness (descriptiveness, novelty, completeness, referencing), style (formality, richness, attractiveness), topic (technicality, popularity), and sentiment (subjectivity, sentimentality, polarity).

Four researches have examined 561 digital news articles and handed these over to 10 media professionals whose professions are computational linguistics, journalism, and media monitoring. These media professionals have used the likert scale to measure 561 digital news articles consisting of between 150-800 words and about 15 different genres. The selected news articles were preprocessed before the editorial study. The preprocessing was performed in two steps. First, they removed the boilerplate of HTML pages and extracted the main body of text of the articles using Boilerpipe (Boilerpipe provides algorithms to detect and remove the surplus "clutter" around the main textual content of a web page).

Second, they have segmented the body text into sentences and paragraphs. For sentence segmentation, they used the Stanford CoreNLP library, which includes a probabilistic parser. For each news article, they generated a body- and sentence-level annotation form. After the evaluations of news by experts, the outcomes have implemented automatic prediction tests. The result is fluency, completeness and richness are the aspects that best correlate with quality. Four academics have defined "fluency" as consecutive sentences that are meaningfully connected.

This is similar to Urban and Schweigers' (2014) work. In their research, as mentioned previously, comprehensibility was the most important criterion of news quality in the eyes of the readers (Urban and Schweiger, 2014). Fluency - which has a close definition to comprehensibility in Urban and Schweiger's work – also is in the top three important quality assessment criteria.

Moving on to the results of the work of Aropulos, Cambazoglu, Peleja and Magalhaes (2016), they defined completeness as complete articles that cover the topic at an adequate level. One of the less important news quality sub-criterions was subjectivity. In their work, subjectivity means articles tend to contain opinions and rarely factual statements. Urban and Schweiger (2014) have used sub-criterions of "neutrally written" in the criterion of impartiality. Neutral writing of an article was the most influential news quality criterion with 11 percent. (Urban and Schweiger, 2014).

2.1.2 News quality and public opinion

High quality news also helps improve public opinion. Van der Wurff, De Swert and Lecheler (2018) have asked what would happen if the quality of the news was better. Would it affect the quality of public opinion? Druckman (2014) mentioned four criteria to measure public opinion quality. He stated that if the public has a better opinion of quality, it means that they are already well-informed about certain topics.

He has stated that public opinion must be internally consistent, coherent with a person's deep values and not easily swayed by framing efforts. Three academics (van der Wurff, De Swert & Lecheler 2018) have tried to prove their hypothesis with fabricated news about carbon dioxide storage in an underground facility.

The news was about possible outcomes and influence for the nature to store carbon dioxide underground. "Justification" and "constructive debate climate" criteria (Cappella, 2002) were manipulated in the story to observe its impact on public opinion.

Scholars have written four news articles. In some stories, two criterions were manipulated; in others, only one was manipulated. They chose the topic of storage of CO_2 due to relatively unfamiliarity in the Netherlands at the same time. Wessler (2008) offered a perspective on justification and public opinion quality. He has stated that the news media can influence public opinion quality with "diverging justifications for political positions." At the end of their research, van der Wurff, De Swert and Lecheler's (2018) found that public opinion does not meet normative democratic criteria due to lack of quality in news.

They have mentioned that the profit-oriented and highly competitive news media industry is not doing well when it comes to progress in public opinion quality.

2.2 Journalist qualification

Journalist qualification is also a disputable topic in the professional media industry. Di Carlo (2012) developed Readers-Added Models (RAM) to measure the quality of journalists in digital media. Di Carlo chose the general news such as election results which is published in almost every outlet. He examined all the variables for the article. The same variables are applied to every digital article in the system. Then, the system decided which article is read most.

After numerous layoffs in the Australian media industry, Simmons (2017) stated that classical print newsrooms radically shrunk. At the same time, experienced Australian journalists resigned at a very high speed in the last 10 years due to digital content production which has forced them to sit at their desks for the entire day. DiCarlo (2012) has underlined that better journalists produce better content. He has stated that improving the quality of journalists not only improves the quality of the news, it also attracts more readers or audiences to the platform.

How is news quality influenced by digitalization of journalistic work? Braverman (1998) has said that apart from the occupation, technological advancements in the industries under capitalism displaces labor from high-productivity and concentrates workers in low-skilled jobs. Braverman's understanding of deskilling is consistent with classical Marxist understanding of reducing costs to maximize profit (Marx, 1973). Örnebring (2014) mentioned that in the history of journalism, the deskilling of labor is a historical process. He observed that digital production techniques change news quality into dimensions. Just "gathering news" is not considered a skilled occupation in the digital environment.

2.2.1 Quality journalism with quality journalists

News can manipulate minds and behaviors. During the Cold War, the Soviet Empire and all of the Eastern European states were portrayed as the enemy in the mass media in the United States. The same happened to China. But when China became a super power in economic terms, the media shifted its coverage of China, which differs from the media's treatment of the Soviet Union case, because China has become too big to offended (McQuail, 2005).

Entman (2007) has said that journalists can manipulate themselves and the mindset of other journalists. In his previous work, he described how framing the news by a journalist involves selection and salience. Entman (1993) advocated for framing a story by defining problems, diagnosing causes and making moral judgements.

McQuail (2005) has stated that news content is usually judged by journalists and receiver also. He explained that there has always been a connection between communication freedom and accurate information. McQuail believes that good information quality contributes to democracy. He elaborated that good information quality provides the basis for democratic decision-making.

Jürgen Habermas (2006) expounded on this theme when he said that without media professionals who provide information, and politicians, no political public sphere can work. He acknowledged that journalists and politicians both address public opinion.

The quality of information naturally influences the quality of the news. Some scholars argue that public opinion quality would be better if news media would meet better deliberative standards (van der Wurf, De Swert, Lecheler, 2016). Baum and Potter (2008) have written that the mass media can influence the public attitude on foreign policy. The two scholars give an example from the Second Gulf War in Iraq. Former U.S. President George Bush at the time complained about the media's coverage of the Iraqi War in these words: "We are making good progress in Iraq. Sometimes it's hard to tell when you listen to the filter." Baum and Potter (2008) interpreted these words as a politician understanding the power of the media yet believing that the mass media always fails to deliver their precise opinion. American philosopher William Ernest Hocking (Hocking, 1947) mentioned that for the sake of the society, the issuer of the knowledge must be protected for the consumer, or the reader in the case of this study.

While Bush (2003) referred to the media as a "filter," Everette (1974) has pushed back on that idea. The scholar held that in some situations, majority rule might be in conflict with the public interest. He asserted that majority rule also can favor censorship.

Mostly officials in authoritarian regimes favor censorship so that they can govern arbitrarily as they please. Heinrich and Pleines (2017) explained that most current academic research on "media and authoritarian regimes" focuses on the time when an authoritarian regimes were in a turmoil. Two scholars have studied pluralism in energy news in the post-Soviet states of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan.

According to Hrvatin and Petkovic (2015), pluralism in the news is a normative concept. Measuring pluralism means observing democratic idea of free debates, implying challenge to existing power relations and engaging in a debate based on the merits of the better argument. Heinrich and Pleines (2017) found that pluralism in the news is limited in Turkmenistan. Almost the only person who speaks on behalf of the regime is the state president. Television is the biggest source of the news for the three post-Soviet states, and television is certainly the least pluralistic medium, especially in terms of diversity of the opinions. Heinrich and Pleines (2017) have detected that state TV quoted only the state president in 63 percent of news reports about export pipelines. Turkmenistan state television has quoted only official sources in 79 percent of news reports about export pipelines.

Nearly one out of five persons who appears on Azerbaijan state television is the state president. In Azerbaijan's state television, half of the declarations belong to state officials. The study also noted that state officials appear less often on social media than on mainstream news sources.

Trakhtenberg (2007) stated that even in Russia, which has a strong authoritarian tradition, some magazines and papers are kept open to understand what is really happening in the country. He elaborated his opinion about Russian media by stating that in Russia, mass media exists only to provide information from the government rather than for the public.

The scholar referred to Habermas's (2006) concept of an "enlightened public" and stated that the mass media in authoritarian Russia, serves an "enlightened

bureaucracy." Trakhtenberg (2007) conclusded from his analysis that in well-developed democracies, the media serves the mission of "counter institution vis-à-vis other political institutions." In authoritarian regimes, however, it serves on behalf of the state. Gerbert (2003) argued that people tend to forget some of the news they read, but some news still influences their mind and emotions. News does not just only affect ordinary citizens, it also influences the lawmaking process via politicians.

Clinton and Enamorado (2014) have stated that after the establishment of Fox News in October 1996, congressional districts and the incumbent representatives became less supportive of President Clinton in districts where Fox news was not on the air.

The work of Lawson and McCann (2004) showed that news which broadcast on TV also can influence voting behavior. According to their study, during the 2000 election in Mexico, TV news played an important role in the election of Vincente Fox. The study showed that between February and June 2000, Fox received 40 percent of the electoral coverage on channel Azteca and 40 percent of the electoral coverage on channel Televisia. It means that Fox was the first candidate who got the most time on mainstream television in Mexico during the election campaign. Fox won the presidency in 2000 (The Wall Street Journal, 2000).

Those examples serve to show that the news is a crucial element in a well-functioning democracy. In today's digital media environment, news-making and news-developing techniques are a hot topic in Silicon Valley also. Herman (2015) has stated that in digital media sites there is a job position called product manager. These product managers are combining business and news writing to create "better" products. Product managers work closely with journalists, designers, software developers and marketers in a digital media company to create a better user experiment. In Grundrisse, Marx stated that the product is shaped by the individual's needs (Marx, 1973).

2.3 Different types of work: Product manager

Sonderman (2016) has acknowledged that product managers in the digital media industry are responsible for what readers need from the whole product. Sonderman sees the news as a product. He has said: "The news you publish in aggregate and over time is also a product in its various forms as a physical thing (a newspaper), or a digital service (a website or app) that you sell or distribute to a target market of consumers."

At the beginning of this study, news was examined as a product. The traditional media companies also have started to see the news as products, too. The media empire Bloomberg hired its first product manager, Julia Beizer, in 2018. Digital-born media company Vox had 14 product manages as of December 2018 (Willens, 2018). Marx has said that "Hunger is hunger. You can eat your meat with knife and fork and also with your bare hands. Production is not always produces the goods. But also it creates a manner of consumption" (Marx, 1973, p.25). These sayings, which were written more than 150 years ago, are consistent with the job definition of a product manager. In today's digital news environment, some websites hire product managers for every product, such as news, video and graphics. Because of that, every product has created a different type of consumption manner. Back in 2016, the Washington Post had only a handful of product managers, and most of them are focused on emerging products like mobile apps. In December 2018, the number of product managers at the newspaper nearly tripled (Willens, 2018). Digital news is a product, and it is produced by digital journalists.

2.4 Digital labor

Digital labor started with the early mining industry. Fuchs and Sandoval (2014) views digital labor as a larger concept. They have asserted that miners in the Congo who extract cassiterite used inside cellphones, software engineers who make phone calls possible and the factory worker in Foxconn who produces iPads all perform digital labor (SACOM 2010; Sandoval, 2013). All these miners, production workers and software engineers are working for one cause. They produce digital

products. Miners' situation in the role of cellphone production fits the definition of productive labor (Marx, 1973). Marx (1973) gives an example of a piano maker. He elaborated his idea by stating that not just the piano player produces music. The piano maker reproduces capital, while the pianist only exchanges his labor for revenue. The piano maker contributes to the production of music (Marx, 1973). Fuchs and Sandoval (2014) have made a crystal definition of digital work in that framework. They have asserted that digital work is a specific form of work that makes use of the body, like a miner; the mind, like the software engineer, and machines, like the Foxconn worker, or combination of some of these. Digital work includes all activities that create use-values and are objectified in digital media technologies, contents and products generated by applying digital media.

Fuchs and Sandoval (2014) have divided digital labor into three categories: agricultural work, industrial work and informational work. They have put agricultural work, industrial work and informational work in this order to define digital labor. These divisions have some similarities to Marx's collective labor definition (Marx, 1973). Marx has asserted that in order to work productively, not everybody should put their hands on the object. It is sufficient to be a part of collective labor and to perform any one of these subordinate functions. Fuchs and Sandoval have shown that in order to make a cellphone, a digital worker contributes his or her agricultural labor, a Foxconn worker contributes his or her industrial labor and a software engineer contributes his or her informational labor. So, these three workers become an organ of collective labor in order to produce a cellphone.

2.4.1 Digital information work

Fuchs and Sandoval have evaluated informational labor as part of digital labor. According to Italian Marxist Lazzarato (1996), information and cultural labor are seen as immaterial labor. Hardt and Negri (2004) have stated that those who perform immaterial labor create immaterial products about knowledge, information or communication, such as a relationship or an emotional response. (Hardt and Negri, 2004, p. 108). According to Scholz (2012), digital labor has become one of

the essential elements to understand the political economic environment of the news media. Fuchs and Sandoval (2014) also have stated that information technology which is performed by informational labor is a part of international division of labor.

Digital media and digital content industry, which includes digital journalism, has eight dimensions in terms of capital accumulation processes. These are a human subject engaging in work, a capitalist for making profits like display ads, a contractual economic relationship, technologies such as instruments/means of production, resources as means of production, the output of production, the distribution of production and the product as news, and the consumption of products (Fuchs, Sandoval, 2014).

Fuchs and Sandoval (2014) have created a chart about digitalization of information labor. They have calculated 1,728 types of possible digital information labor types and jobs in the digital content industry. They have divided digital information labor into categories. They have checked whether an information worker's job area is online or offline, employer, applying as online or offline, relations of production as online or offline or blended, technology as brain, brain+digital technologies, brain+non-digital technologies, brain+digital technologies+non digital technologies, objects as digital, non-digital, blended, products as digital, non-digital, blended, distribution as online or offline, consumption as digital or non-digital (Fucsh and Sandoval, 2014).

So, how can be characterized that the digital informational laborers according to these typologies. Fuchs has put the hybrid model of digital informational worker over a blog writer who works for an online website. He has given as an example a blogger who generates postings for a newspaper's website and works from home. She conducts her work primarily online, i.e. she blogs on the internet, and her employer's presence for her is its newspaper website. The communication between the blogger and the newspaper's online editor takes place primarily online, but from

time-to-time, there are real life meetings in order to discuss the newspaper's online strategy. So, the production relationship has a blended character. The blogger uses her brain and digital technologies such as a laptop connected to the internet and a blogging platform, so the technologies she is using are both a human brain and digital technologies. The objects of work are the blogger's experiences, opinions and thoughts (non-digital information) and other online documents to which she links (digital), so the objects of work are blended. The product is a digital text that is distributed and consumed online in a digital format. Using the typology in Table 4, we can characterize the blogger's work as an example of digital information work version number 11323111 (Fuchs and Sandoval, 2014).

The typology raises the question of whether every informational digital labor includes same level of digital work. Schmiede (1996) has used the term, "informatization of work" to elaborate on this question. He hasn't limited the term to computerization of work when he categorizes the informatization of the work. According to his work telegraph, file card systems and double bookkeeping are informatized work. He has asserted that digitization-of-information labor is only a different type of informatization of work. So, according to Schmiede (1996), there has no difference between a digital journalist or a post office employee on the basis of information business.

2.4.2 User-generated content

With the internet, ordinary citizens become producers of content. Leadbeater and Miller (2004) have described the new audience as "prosumers" (producers-consumers). Prosumers generate user-generated-content (UGC) for digital platforms. The researchers also described UGC as disruptive, creative force, something spontaneously emerging from the creativity of individual users newly enabled as expressive agents by digital technologies. Jenkins (2006) also has stated that the audience becomes a co-creator of media content and approaches equal status with media professionals.

A dominant aspect of the study of UGC is internet companies' choice to take advantage of free labor from its users. Terranova (2004) explained the free labor from UGC as "an important yet unacknowledged source of value in advanced capitalist societies." According to Terranova's research, free labor from UGC is given voluntarily. In 2004, she identified the following as forms of free labor in the online sphere: building websites, modifying software packages, participating in mailing lists and building virtual spaces. Recent academic studies have pointed out that Facebook, YouTube and other digital social platforms all contain material produced with free labor (Xia, 2014).

2.4.3 Digital labor wage types

Fuchs (2016) has stated that digital relations of production are shaped by wage labor, slave labor and unpaid labor. In his previous research he asserted that whole internet platforms are based on exploitation of users' unpaid labor. Fuchs and Sandoval (2014) have concreted his definition by giving this example: Miners who perform agricultural digital labor to extract minerals for cellphones perform slave labor in Africa, while social media prosumers perform unpaid labor and create personal data commodities for social media corporations.

What is considered unpaid work in social media? Fuchs (2012) has explained that creating UGC for Facebook is unpaid work and shares characteristics of pre-capitalistic slave labor. He elaborated that in slavery, the master can kill the slave anytime he wants. Unpaid workers of UGC are getting public visibility and communication in exchange for their labor, whereas slaves get shelter and food (Fuchs, 2013). All the contributions from the users to the social network sites - wikis, microblogs etc. - creates value and naturally, profit. And users contribute their "playbour." This term refers to users who create content for social media in exchange for entertainment and joy (Fuchs, 2012).

In light of Marx's theory related to exploitation of labor, Andrejevic (2011) has stated that companies like Facebook base their target advertising on users, exploit

their labor, commodifies their personal data and don't pay a single dime to them. Facebook does not pay its users, but Facebook users create two-sided use-values. For example, users gain communication via Facebook Messager and public visibility. Users don't make money via Facebook. Their motivation for using the platform is to be able to message others in their network and to gain public visibility (Fuchs & Sevignani, 2013). Facebook and YouTube users don't expect to get paid, and they build and enjoy a sense of community (Aridvsson & Colleoni, 2012).

From this perspective, Facebook hires millions of content creator for free. Facebook outsources and crowd-sources the work of media production from producer-consumers (Deuze, 2007). This may be seen as a self-service gasoline station, where the owner has gotten rid of gas station attendants (Fish and Srinivasan, 2011). In 2009, Facebook encouraged people to share more on the platform in that sense user would be gain a chance to seen on TV. (Fuchs & Sevignani, 2013)

The second use-value that users extract from Facebook is use-value for capital. Facebook is showing targeted advertisements to users who are dedicated to being on the platform in exchange for communication and public visibility (Fuchs & Sevignani, 2013).

Andrejevic (2009) has said that YouTube attempts to monetize the videos which are uploaded by users as well as granular behavioral data used for targeted advertisements. YouTube makes more and more profit from newly uploaded videos. When the videos upload from commentators with a large number of subscribers, they have power to influence users and shape other videos (Postigo, 2016).

2.4.3.1 Participatory culture

Jenkins (2006) has conceptualized user generated content differently from Fuchs and Sevignani (2013) but still as a participatory culture. He has seen that user generated content provides internal moral economies and self-defined systems of

value to the user. He has criticized the digital media industry to squeeze UGC in one dimension as individuals who want to express themselves. Jenkins has elaborated his view on UGC as a participatory culture in the sense that users who produce content are part of the social relations which surrounds its production and circulation. Fuchs and Sevignani have elaborated on user generated content in parts of informational digital labor, but Jenkins also states that fans who wants to produce any type of content online, whether it is about Star Wars or a rock band, contains feelings that are noncommercial. According to Jenkins (2006), fan culture does not include commerce. He has stated that content from fans as a part of gift economy are essential to understand the dynamics of user generated content in online.

2.5 Labor quality measurement

Paid or unpaid, the quality of labor is often the subject of research. The Central Bank of Spain has measured quality with an index constituted by gender, age, education, experience in the current job and nationality. The bank has asserted that more wages does not necessarily generate more productive labor. According to the work of the bank, education is the most influential factor in terms of labor quality (Lacuesta, Puente and Cuadrado, 2008). Warke (1986) has used different metrics to measure labor quality. General education and lifelong exposure to industrial work habits were related to output and a high social rate of return for general education. Belman and Heywood (1990) have stated that the companies who invest in research and development have higher labor quality. According to J.P. Morgan, labor quality is declining in the United States every year. In 2010, labor quality and its contribution to the GDP rate was 1.2 percent. In 2016, it declined to below 0.5 percent (Business Insider, 2016). The Central Bank of Uruguay has developed a method for labor quality calculation based on division of labor between skilled and unskilled workers. The bank also has used PISA scores to measure talent (Cubas, Ravikumar & Ventura, 2012).

3. DIGITAL LABOR QUALITY AND NEWS QUALITY IN TURKISH DIGITAL MAINSTREAM MEDIA

The methodology of the research took an analytical and in-depth approach and investigated with qualitative research methods. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were used in this research. One of the aims of this research is to explore the daily routines of digital journalists when they produce news. Researchers used qualitative methods.

Rubin and Rubin (2005) have asserted that to understand human behavior social scientists are keen to use qualitative research. Dörnyei (2007) has stated that the most common technique in qualitative data collection is interviewing and questionnaires. In-depth interviewing was used in this research. In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique with a small number of interviewees. In-depth interviews provide much more detailed information than other data collection methods (Boyce and Neale, 2006). According to Kvale (1996), interviewing is a way to describe the real world of the interviewee. Schostak (2006) has added that an interview is an extendable conversation between two persons, and it aims to get in-depth information.

According to a study conducted by Alshenqeeti (2014), there are three types of interviews. The first is the structured interview in which the interviewer prepares a list of questions for a certain period of time. Berg (2007) has said that there is a little room for freedom in a structured interview.

The questions are direct and predetermined already. The second type is the open-ended (unstructured) interview. Gubrium and Holstein (2003) stated that open-ended interviews provide great flexibility for the interviewer and offer freedom to both sides.

3.1 Semi-structured interview

Alshenqeeti (2014) stated the third interview type is the semi-structured interview. This allows the interviewer to get more in-depth information. The interviewer can expand on the interviewee's response in this type (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

This study was conducted with semi-structured interviews. Berg (2007) underlines that a basic checklist must be prepared in this kind of interview to keep the interview on track. He has written: "The checklist allows for in-depth probing while permitting the interviewer to keep the interview within the parameters traced out by the aim of the study" (Berg, 2007, p. 39). Rabionet (2011) considered six stages for making a semi-structured interview. Those are selecting the type of interview, establishing ethical guidelines, crafting the interview protocol, conducting and recording the interview, crafting the interview protocol, and reporting the findings.

Scholars have defended the idea that anyone who wants a larger qualitative framework can choose a semi-structured interview. Rabionet (2011) asserted that to narrow down some areas a semi-structured interview is the optimal one. Scholars have warned that a completely unstructured interview poses some risks for junior researchers like getting away from the actual subject. According to Kvale (2007), before starting an interview, the interviewer should consider the interview's purpose, consequences, consent, identity, relationships, confidentiality and protection.

3.2 Interview protocol

Crafting an interview protocol is important for researchers. Rabionet (2011) divides interview protocol into two parts. The first is how does the interviewer introduce herself or himself to the interviewee. The second one is what questions will the interviewer ask to interviewee. Rabionet (2011) has stated that audio recording is the most efficient recording type in interviewing. Scholars have also mentioned that

according to the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, recording types can be various.

How do interviewers analyze data? Hoyos and Barnes (2012) suggests six elements to analyze an interview. Those are initial codes, add comments, look for patterns, explore patterns, elaborate on small generalizations, and link generalizations to a body of knowledge to construct theory. Rabionet (2011) suggests that to analyze the data from an interview, a researcher should care about qualitative analysis data software.

Reporting the findings is a crucial part of an interview. Rabionet (2011) states that knowing a qualitative body of knowledge helps any researcher to write accurate findings. According to his study, disclosure, consequences and trustworthiness should be taken into consideration in writing processes.

Some authors (Creswell, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Berg, 2007 and Best and Khan, 2003) have explained that ethnography and case studies are essential for qualitative research. Case studies aim to study a one-and-only case with a single person, group or community. It does not rely on a single data collection technique but demands triangulation of information (Creswell, 1998, Stake, 2000). In qualitative research, a researcher confirms his or her information by using a number of data collection techniques. Common methods are interviews, observations, and interpreting personal data.

Ethnography is also a form of qualitative research which provides information from the participants' points of view. Ethnography helps researchers to understand more meaningful context (Tedlock, 2000). Berg (2001) also stated that a researcher who studies ethnography needs to be situated in the midst of the environment that they study so they can construct interpretations to gain into a world.

Gubrium and Holstein (2003) stated that open-ended interviews give more freedom to researchers and participants. This is a good example of the reflexivity side of the qualitative relationship. According to Schoepp (2003), a qualitative researcher must ask himself or herself some questions before conducting research. First, are the research problems, procedures or findings influenced by the researchers beliefs and values? Second, do researchers demonstrate undue positive or negative bias in describing the subject of the study? Schoepp (2003) also underlines that a literature review should be comprehensive.

With answering these questions, the "research procedures" part begins. Scholars suggest that a sampling of the population should be interesting. Data collection intensity should be sufficient. Measurements in the study should be sufficiently valid and reliable for its intended purpose and sample. The research procedures must be appropriate and clear. It should be clear that others can be replicate the study if they wished (Schoepp, 2003).

3.3 Tick and thick descriptions

Schoepp (2003) continues with research results and discussion of results. According to his model, reporting includes tick and thick descriptions. Each variable in the study emerges in a meaningful way from the data. When it comes to the last part of the discussion, multiple sources of evidence should support the researcher's conclusions. The researcher must provide a reasonable explanation of the findings. The generality of the findings must be appropriately qualified. Researchers must draw reasonable implications for practice from their findings.

Creswell, (1998) has also put a framework about good qualitative research. The scholar has asserted eight different elements to make good qualitative research:
- Employ rigorous data collection procedures
- Frame the study within the assumptions and characteristics of the qualitative approach to research
- Use a tradition of inquiry,

- Begin with a single focus
- Use detailed methods to data collection, data analysis and report writing
- Write in a harmony so readers can eel that you were actually there
- Analyze data using multiple levels of abstraction
- Write far away from biases.

The name of this work is "How does digital labor quality influence the news quality in Turkish digital mainstream media?" As it can be understood from the name and theoretical background, digital labor and news quality are both focused topics for this study. Digital laborers answer for news quality analyzed within the understanding of news quality criterions.

3.4 Similar studies

Quantitative research in some cases may be considered as the initial stage of research leading to wider qualitative analysis (Showkat, Parveen, 2017). Surveys are another data collection method in quantitative research. The survey is an organized activity to gather information directly from people. Surveys are considered as a flexible research design, according to Showkat and Parveen (2017) A survey can be done in three forms. It can be a questionnaire, face-to-face interview or telephone interview. Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo (2007) conducted a survey to understand web editors' news quality criterions. Three scholars surveyed 723 editors from online news sites. The first part of the survey included a seven-point Likert scale. Survey Monkey (2019) asserts that Likert scales are popular because they are one of the most reliable ways to measure opinions, perceptions and behaviors. Likert scales are recommended by Survey Monkey if a researcher wants to dig down into one specific topic. The second part of the survey included 17 ancillary questions. Those questions sought information such as age, gender, job title, size of editorial staff, circulation or market size of the larger organization (Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo, 2007).

Urban and Schweiger (2014) aimed to elaborate on news quality from a recipient's perspective. Two scholars designed 2x2 factorial online experiments. The study was conducted as a series of six two-wave online questionnaires. The first questionnaire asked general questions about participants' media usage. The second questionnaire sought opinions on whether an article was of good or bad quality. Like in the work of Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo (2007), ancillary questions also were part of the study. Over 360 respondents participated in the study.

Tugba Akdal (2017) has elaborated on the issue of news quality and credibility between two news organizations who have a print and online edition. Akdal (2017) used a hybrid method. She used both quantitative and qualitative research methods to write a report. In first part, Akdal examined 100 new articles and tabulated them in torder of their differences and similarities via accounting and specification techniques. After she had done that, the scholar gathered a focus group with 10 young people to discuss news quality in print and online. This study diverged from other studies because the scholar used both research methods in order to understand news quality

Two of studies used online surveys to reach more participants for their study (Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo, 2004; Urban, Schweiger, 2014). Akdal (2017) collected around 100 articles to elaborate on the quality differences between online and digital news.

Deniz and Özel (2018) have studied readers' influence on news publishing. The two scholars did this work with in-depth semi-structured interviews with 15 digital journalists from widely-known mainstream platforms. The aim of the study was to find out how the readers influenced the role of editor in digitalized journalism. The researchers used a semi-structured interview technique for the study, and they explained it with Yildirim and Simsek, (2013) and Merriam (2013).

Yildirim and Simsek asserted that in structured interviews, researchers look for parallels between the answers of interviewees. But in unstructured interviews, the researchers are eager to explore new sides of his or her topic. Merriam (2013) also asserted that the semi-structured interview is between the structured and unstructured interview. Deniz and Özel (2018) has gave a form to the interviewees to determine their general framework of research. Berg (2007) also emphasized the importance of researchers using a checklist in semi-structured interviews. Also, Oxfam's (2012) "Conducting semi-structured interviews" guide states that drawing up a checklist aiming for five to seven major themes is beneficial for the interview. Oxfam also stated that from the major themes, a researcher must decide which one is more important than the others.

This study was conducted with semi-structured, in-depth interview to get a comprehensive insight into digital news production in Turkish digital mainstream media.

3.5 Topic list

According to a review of the literature, to gain insight about news quality, scholars determine quality criterions. These criterions also include sub-criterions (Shapiro, Gladney, Castaldo and 2007; Urban&Schweiger, 2014; Akdal, 2017). Scholars like McQuail (1992) and Hagen (1995) have some normative ideas about determining news quality in modern democratic society. Habermas (2006) sees quality news as a tool for creating an active public sphere with relevant topics. Urban and Schweiger (2014) gathered six news quality criterions according to their own literature review (McQuail, 1992; Schatz and Schulz 1992; Poetteker, 2000; Arnold 2009). Those are diverstiy, (diverstiy of viewpoints, diversity of sources), relevance (up-to-dateness, completeness, analytical quality) ethics, (respect for personal rights, respect for religious and moral attitudes, prohibition of discrimination, protection of young people), impartiality (balance of viewpoints, balance of sources, neutrality), comprehensibility (simplicity, formal order, coherence, consciences, additional stimuli), and accuracy (correctness, precision,

transparency). These news quality criterions are used to elaborate on readers priorities for news quality.

Gladney Shapiro and Castaldo (2007) have applied 38 sub-criteria to understand what is important for digital journalists. These criteria have tangible differences from Urban and Schweiger's. They include content, interactivity, look and feel, navigation, functionality, and community relevance. Subecriterions especially showed that digital news quality criterions might be variable. Here are the sub-criterions: credibility, utility, immediacy, relevance, ease of use, fact-opinion separation, clear paths simplicity, exclusivity, hyperlocal, good writing, content paramount, speed and efficiency, appropriate design, search power, good illustration, access to editorial staff, depth, marketplace of ideas, user requirements, technology relevance, community building/service, multimedia richness, familiarity, citizen participation, breadth, reach, digestibility, bandwidth, customization, user choice/control, interactive reading, community dialogue civic/public discourse, quick read, cutting edge, outside commentary, and editorial vigor.

For this study, 15 news quality criterions were chosen for a topic list to conduct in-depth, semi-structured interviews by the researcher. Some were picked from the work of Urban and Schweiger (2014), and others came from Gladney Shapiro and Castaldo's study (2007). Some criterions were determined by the researcher. The 15 criterions are listed below.

3.5.1 Fake news

The credibility criterion is a sub-criterion of the "content" title in Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo's work (2007). According to their study, credibility is the most important news quality criterion for web editors. According to the Reuters Institute (2018), 60 percent of Turkish readers are not sure about the accuracy of the information published online . In today's digital media environment, fake news is one of the biggest threats against the credibility of a news organization.

3.5.2 Impartiality

Juliane Urban and Wolfgang Schweiger (2014) used six normative news quality criterions. One of them is impartiality. Scholars found that readers recognize the differences in news quality to some extent. The study showed that the most important thing in the news for readers is impartiality (Urban and Schweiger, 2014, p. 832).

3.5.3 Multimedia richness

Among some 38 criteria, multimedia richness ranks only in 23rd place for news quality importance in Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo's work (2007). The study, conducted in 2007, tried to find out where multimedia awareness and multimedia content goes in Turkish digital mainstream media. The New York Times story, "Snowfall," which was published in 2012, is considered as a milestone in multimedia digital journalism in the sense of distinctive features of text, image, video, audio, and graphic animations.(van Krieken, 2018). Interviewees were asked about their usage of multimedia tools.

3.5.4 Community dialogue

The term community dialogue refers to interaction among users, according to Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo's work conducted in 2007. For this topic, the researcher delves into news and interaction on social media through the eyes of digital journalists.

3.5.5 Design simplicity

Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo's (2007) study divided their "look and feel" news quality criterion into sub-criterions. Simplicity is one of them. For this research, digital journalists replied to questions about how they think about their homepage design in terms of simplicity.

3.5.6 Up-to-dateness

According to Urban and Schweiger's (2014) study, the third most important news quality criterion for recipients is whether the news is fresh or old. It shows that readers understand news timing. The researcher asked digital news editors questions about how they feel about publishing outdated news. How do they even determine whether news is up-to-date or not?

3.5.7. Career expectations

In this section, the researcher explored the career expectations of digital journalists. They were asked: What they think about their future? Do they plan to be a manager of their website? If so, what do they think that they should do to achieve that goal?

3.5.8. Ratings

Display advertisements are the most widely-used and common advertising type in digital media (iab, 2018, Magna, 2018). Display advertisement show up to the audience when the audience clicks on a certain story. Basically, a click means money for digital news organizations. So, how important are ratings to digital editors for their performance evaluations? Interviewees answered these questions.

3.5.9 Reference

Most of the digital news organizations are news aggregators in Turkey. The necessity of keeping news websites constantly up-to-date with new content makes digital journalists "mouse monkeys." It means that they rarely go outside to catch unique stories (Aviles, 2004). Baisnee and Marchetti (2006) say that for digital newsrooms "the organization of work and haste of production often means processing news or images partly produced by others without going, and even in some cases, never going to the scene (Baisnee and Marchetti, 2006 p. 114). "Partly produces by others" basically means that mostly digital journalists consume news to produce news. It is apparent that digital journalists publish a large amount of content from the other news organizations on a daily basis. How they refer these organizations in their news articles is examined in this section.

3.5.10 Exclusive content

In digital media, there is a scarcity of exclusive content. In this section, editors explained their experience in creating exclusive content for digital.

3.5.11 Days off

Technological developments require multiskilling in journalistic labor (Bromley, 1997). This multiskilling also brings more desk work and leads to burnout for digital journalists (Simmons, 2017; Demir and Bulut, 2018). Digital journalists need proper time to rest. Respondents answered questions about how many days they work each week. Do they think that they can rest enough to save energy for work?

3.5.12 Breaks

Digital journalism is an intense job. Most of the time staff is in an office building for at least eight hours a day (Deuze, 2002; Alvares, 2004; Demir and Bulut 2018). Digital editors also need breaks during a day. Respondents answered how many breaks they take during a day.

3.5.13 Publishing count

"How many news articles you publish in a day?" That is the question. This question leads this study to understand how many stories are published during a day by a digital editor.

3.5.14 Transportation

All of the digital editors who participated in this research live in Istanbul. Istanbul has the world's sixth worst traffic conditions (Tomtom, 2019). In this section, editors answered how they get to work. For instance, do they take public transportation, a personal vehicle or a vehicle provided by a news organization.

3.5.15 Job quality comments

Every editor has his or her opinion about the job quality of the current organization they work for. In this section, editors expressed their thoughts about how digital journalism can improve in terms of news quality. What can the administration and owners of the media outlets do to enhance the quality of digital journalism according to the editor's personal opinions?

3.6 The interviewees

Ten digital journalists from five digital mainstream media institutions in Turkey participated in this study. Every one of them graduated from a university were between 30-45. The average working experience of those editors is 10 years.

Interviews are conducted in a semi-structured way and audio recorded with the consent of the interviewees. When deciding which media companies would be invited to take part in this study, iab Februay 2019 figures were used for real user data. Iab publishes monthly smartphone real-user ranking tables for the top 20 digital sites in Turkey. In the list, among the news sites, haberturk.com has 21.4 million real users, sozcu.com.tr has 15.9 million real users, and ntv.com.tr has 6.8 million real users. These sites are in the top four news websites in the ranking table of mobile real-user data. Editorial staff from Hurriyet.com.tr and Milliyet.com.tr also participated the interviews. Both companies are don't have places in iAB's list, but they are well-known mainstream news organizations in Turkey. All of the five websites belong to traditional Turkish mainstream media companies and also conduct business in print journalism and television.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 General findings

According to the topic list which was mentioned earlier, the findings are listed below.

4.1.1 Theme 1: Multimedia richness

The interviews showed that multimedia storytelling is limited to digital media editors in the Turkish mainstream digital media. Multimedia richness is crucial in digital journalism and also digital journalist puts the multimedia story telling when academics ask them (Gladney, Shapiro, & Castaldo, 2007).

Editor 1 from Sozcu.com.tr defined that any material besides pictures and video about any news means extra work. Editor 1 said that:

> "We mostly produce news with pictures and videos; any material besides that is extra work. Multimedia tools are like sauce for a meal. We have a meal which is the news itself, but we don't have the sauce. That is extra work."

Editor 2 from Hurriyet.com.tr also said that he doesn't use multimedia tools. He stated that he understands multimedia is important because it keeps the audience engaged longer on a page, and their advertising department wants readers to spend more time on a page. He continued, saying:

> "We don't have anyone to make infographics. Embedding a tweet might be difficult for infrastructural problems. But I care about adding extra photos in the story because I don't want to only see tons of words in my article."

Also Editor 2 stated that wheter it's relevant to the news or not, video content is added at the bottom of news articles if the news itself does not have a video.

Editor 6 from Milliyet.com.tr, stated that he wanted to create more stories with multimedia content, but his administration does not support him on that point. He said:

> "For some points we are allowed to use only five pictures of an important person. Multimedia is a faraway topic to us."

Editor 7 from Milliyet.com.tr said that he doesn't use any kind of multimedia material in his news. He said resources are limited and infrastructure is poor to create multimedia stories. He continued:

> "I am producing news in a fast way. I am focusing on the presentation mostly. The juicy headlines are important to me because a news must attract so many readers."

He summed up his remarks by saying that he simply doesn't have time to create multimedia-rich stories. Also Editor 7 explained that he publishes 25 news articles per day.

Editor 8 from sozcu.com.tr offered a different perspective than Editor 1 who also is currently working in sozcu.com.tr. He said that he tries to use every multimedia instrument that he can find in the news. He said:

> "Not every news has a multimedia item to put in a HTML. But when there is, we put everything in it, from Instagram HMTL to infographics."

This answer raises a question digital media sites in the Turkish digital mainstream media have the proper staff to produce infographics for their articles. Only sozcu.com.tr has a graphic artist among the institutions examined in this study.

The respondents claimed that they use limited multimedia tools because of limited time and lack of staff. Just four out of the 10 editors work with a graphic designer. For example, Haberturk.com has a graphic artist, but he only produces graphics for columnists. Sozcu.com.tr has a graphic designer also, but two editors mentioned that due to a lack of time, they don't use graphic artists in an efficient way at sozcu.com.tr

According to participants' answers, video usage in the news is common. HTML codes does not apply all the time because some of the technical issues.

4.1.2 Theme 2: Design

Design is an important side of digital journalism. Digital web editors are aware of the importance of design. Design is amongst the top five most important news quality criterions for news, according to Gladney, Shapiro and Castaldo's work.

Participants from Hurriyet.com.tr and Milliyet.com.tr asserted that they don't like their homepage design. Editor 7, speaking about Milliyet.com.tr's homepage design said:

> "I want to see more simple and clean design for a website. Ours is so complicated. There are so many pictures in the homepage it is confusing."

But he added that Turkish readers values the confusion in the homepage. He continued:

> "This audience wants this."

Editor 2 from Hurriyet.com.tr stated that Hurriyet.com.tr's homepage design look a bit simple and is more understandable than Milliyet.com.tr. He said that he has worked in digital media for over 10 years and has observed that there is much more news on the homepage than before. He continued:

"At the beginning, we have a slider in the homepage which contains five news [stories]; then, it climbed to [more] than 15 over the years"

He added that so many news presentations in the homepage can tire the readers.

Editor who works for NTV.com.tr explained that he finds their homepage user - friendly. According to his views, NTV.com.tr's biggest advantage is that editors design the homepage manually in seconds according to existing situations. Basically, their homepage is flexible. He continued:

"I worked for so many institutions, and homepage designs were static. You would know where the sport news or political news are. But in here you can design the page anytime from bottom to top. You can shorten the page or make it longer according to your need. For instance, if there is a terror attack and you have a sensational photo, you can change the design of the homepage to make this photo look much flashier."

The two editors who work for haberturk.com disagreed when it comes to design. Editor 5 said the homepage of Haberturk looks colorful. He said there are many advertisements on the homepage, and it is confusing for readers. Editor 5 also mentioned that news sites are copying their designs from each other. Every site has a main slider, they have four or five little boxes at the top of the site and the bottom of the site boxes of news continue.

Contrary to Editor 5, Editor 3 from haberturk.com liked their homepage. He said:

"Haberturk.com is not shouting when I enter the site. It is not similar to Millyet.com.tr or Hurriyet.com.tr. These sites are so complicated to read. Our site is not close to The Guardian or The New York Times maybe, but it is good in the standards of Turkey."

He added that editors sometimes cross the line when they design the web pages. He said:

"Photoshop can be a dangerous weapon into the wrong hands."

Both editors from sozcu.com.tr said that their homepage design is better than competitors in the market. Editor 1 said that:

"The previous institutions that I worked for forced people to consume more news via colorful complicated design; sozcu.com.tr is not so complicated."

Editor 1 thought that advertisements showing style are harming the user experience in the digital news business, but it is inevitable to show advertising. On this topic, he said:

"The order of advertisement is that editors must publish as many news as they can find. And you have to deliver as many news as you can. So, it creates a circus sometimes"

Editor 8 said that the homepage of sozcu.com.tr is not so different than competitors' but is still the cleanest and simplest among rivals.

Six out of 10 editors said they are satisfied with the design of their homepage. They stated that the Turkish audience likes complex designs. Some of them still found that their homepages are complex, which means pictures and letters don't serve readers in a harmony. Especially editors from Hurriyet.com.tr and Milliyet.com.tr complained about those two sites' homepage design.

4.1.3 Theme 3: Fake news

Fake news is everybody's problem, not only journalists'. Generally, digital journalists are more vulnerable to being hoodwinked by to fake news than print journalists (Reuters, 2018).

Journalists may be exposed to fake news during their daily routine especially with the development of the social media. The relatively low cost of establishing a fake news site and creating a fake news based social media accounts make fake news more widespread than ever before. Editor 1 from sozcu.com.tr stated that he is so angry with himself after he realized that he inadvertently published fake news. He said:

> "This is my routine: After I understand the story is fake, then I try to make it accurate with true information. If I can't reach that information, I hide the story. I remove it from the homepage, and I change the headline."

Hiding means moving the news to the bottom of the homepage, or in some cases, editors erase the fake content from the homepage entirely. Editor 6 elaborated a bit more on the term of "hiding the news." He underlined that when he first understands a story is fake after it's published, the first step for him is to "get rid of the news" from the homepage. Then, he said, if the author is a news agency, he waits for the agency to correct this story. If the story is fake and it belongs to at staff reporter at his workplaces, he reaches out to the reporter to correct the story.

Editor 6 works for milliyet.com.tr

Editor 2 who works for hurriyet.com.tr underlined that he erases the social media post first, after he realizes story is a fake news. He said:

> "If the mistake we made is big, we apologize for publishing the story. But this is something that we rarely do."

Editor 3 said that he worries about the fake news depends on who sees the news is fake at first place. His boss of himself? He stated that if the mistake is minor, and if it is not a fake political news, then he corrects the story or erases it from the homepage like the rest of the editors. He mentioned that if the owner of the site sees the fake news, than it can become something else, and at the end of the day, the journalist may lose their job.

Editor 5 who also works for haberturk.com gives a different perspective about publishing fake news. He elaborated on the idea of responsibility to readers. He said:

> "The readers know my site. They don't know the news agency or social media source of the news. If I use the fake news, I will discredit my site in the eyes of readers. That is why I will be angry with myself when I publish a fake news."

Editor 7 who works for milliyet.com.tr said that after a while an editor can learn the identity of source or person spreading the fake news and cease to publish content from that particular source. Editor 7's job is publishing economic news stories. He said:

> "During the time, I have learned that the Central Bank of Turkey's reports are more solid than a politician's declaration about economy."

Editor 8 works for sozcu.com.tr. His topic is sports journalism. He claimed that especially in the field of sports journalism, fake news is more common than any other category because of the rumors about transfer season. He gave an example of such a scenario:

"A worldwide famous Turkish soccer player transferred from Spain to Turkey. First, we published the story, and we referred to the official football match broadcaster in Turkey. The broadcaster said that the player is transferring to USA for the next season. And we published the same story, adding that the national soccer match broadcaster alleged that… Then we learned that the story is fake. We learned that the player is going to transfer to Turkey. And the first news that we published was changed entirely."

Editor 9 who works for ntv.com.tr stated that he avoids fake news by waiting a bit more to publish an article so that he can understand what is really going on. It is a solid truth that the publishing first race in digital journalism contributes to the spread of fake news because editors feel like she or he has so small time to publish the news. In contrast, a print newspaper's editorial board has plenty of time to sort out the facts before publishing an article.

Editor 10 said:

"Our administration forces us to publish first. But when we do that, from time-to-time we are harming journalism."

Digital journalists are exposed to fake news and false information during their daily routine. When they discover the false information in a story, they immediately act. All of the news sites editors who participated in this study, underlined that they don't produce, and their bosses do not make them, publish fake news. The common pattern after publication of fake news is to somehow hide or remove the article from the homepage. Editors stated a correlation between being rushed and inadvertently publishing fake news.

4.1.4 Theme 4: Community dialogue

These days, a reader can have a dialogue with their newspaper, and this is happening via social media in every second. Social media also can guide digital

journalists to publish different stories, or it can give a fresh perspective about an event, which editorial staff is missing or ignoring.

The term "community dialogue" refers to interaction between the news site and readers (Gladney, Shapiro & Castaldo, 2007). Previous academic work has established that journalists are not always enthusiastic about engaging with their audience (Neilson, 2016).

Editor 1 said that he uses social media constantly. But he stated that he doesn't engage with readers, and their ideas rarely change his mind about the news.

Editor 2 from Hurriyet.com.tr also manages one of the Twitter accounts of that news site. He said that he follows reactions on social media, but like Editor 1, he said that he doesn't take the readers' comments on social media very seriously. He elaborated on the idea this way:

> "Readers are always dissatisfied. They always criticize us about making photo galleries. They are always so angry. That is why I don't usually take care of what the audience says on social media to us."

Editor 4 who works for ntv.com.tr said that from time to time he changes the title of an article based on social media comments. He said:

> "Sometimes readers can catch a better angle than you. When this happens, I change the headline or maybe the picture, and the news reaches more audience."

Editor 6 who works for millyet.com.tr said that his institution takes social media seriously. He said that from time to time they delete social media posts because the readers got angry.

Editor 7 from milliyet.com.tr asserted that he always pays heed to readers' reactions to a story. He said that before social media, editors had approve a reader's comments for the comments be seen on the website. Unlike on social media, comments from readers were monitored by the journalists.

He said:

> "I learned most of my mistakes from the readers' comments."

Editor 9 said that social media is crucial for their team because their traffic mostly comes from social media. Editor 9 writes about art and celebrity news. He continued:

> "I always look at social media to see how the readers interpret our headlines. If the headlines are too disturbing for readers, I change it."

4.1.5 Theme 5: Up- to-dateness

With digital media, up-to-dateness of news becomes subjective. Broadsheet and tabloid journalists typically think that one or two days is enough to consider something old news old, but it appears that digital media editors are not on the same page with them. Urban and Schweiger's (2014) work stated that up- to-dateness of a story is very important for readers.

Most of the journalists who participated in this study asserted that up-to-dateness of a news can show differences from one article to another. Editor 10 who works for Hurriyet.com.tr said:

> "If a bomb blasts at the heart of a big city, a one-minute delay is intolerable. But there are some types of news that your readers did not see already, and it is not breaking news. Then, we may publish it one or two days after the incident."

Editor 3 said that if the story is not crucial and does not affect the masses' daily routine, then you can publish it at some point in the next week or so.

Editor 8 explained that when he misses a story, he wants to add a different angle to the story. He continued:

> "If it is not a breaking news, I ask myself 'do our readers see this story with our angle?' Then I publish the story anyway."

Editor 9 underlined that it is very important who published the story before you. He continued:

> "If it is one of your rivals, it is frustrating. If the story was published abroad a week ago and none of your rivals published it, then I believe that you can publish the story."

The editors' approach to up-to-dateness of a story is similar. Interviewees believe two major concepts. If the story is breaking news, a one-second delay is a bad thing. But if the story is evergreen and their rivals missed the story, too, then editor has no hesitation to publish the story. Also, respondents underlined that they publish some stories even if they are late, to stay actual. Editors stated that their employers sometimes push them to publish all content online even if the news is not fresh.

4.1.6 Theme 6: Reference

News sources in digital media are limited when compared with newspapers and television because digital media institutions in Turkey mostly don't employ reporters. That is why digital news sites mostly feed their sites with news agency materials. As a result, it is important that the editors respect the intellectual property of other news organizations (Deuze, 2008).

Editor 1 said that when he publishes a story from other news organizations, he puts the name of the organization that originated the story at the bottom of the text. If the news belongs to a reporter from a newspaper, then he said that he adds the reporter's and institution's name at the end of the article. Editor 2 underlined that they can use news from limited organizations, and they don't let organizations use their news. When a site uses content from hurriyet.com.tr, he said that their lawyers act immediately.

Editor 7 explained that even if he wants to put the author's name on a story, his bosses don't let him do that. He said:

> "My company does not want to see any correspondent's names on the site, except the ones our print edition employs. But this is a contradiction. We don't want their names, but we publish their stories."

Editor 8 said that depending on the importance of a story, he might even sometimes add the name of the writer in the beginning of the story.

Editor 10 said referencing reporters is important to him. He criticized other editors fort not being a real storyteller because none of them have done special coverage at any time in their career. He continued:

> "I always put the name of a correspondent in the leading in the news. Most of the time I am beginning first the institution and the reporter's name. Most of the people in my job don't do it because they have never made real journalism before. That is why they think that journalism is an easy thing. Those stories sometimes come from one month of work."

Editor 3 said that if they see news from a different news organization and if they are capable of covering the story, then they write their own news story. He continued:

"Maybe we make the news again but if also we can get the information, then we don't want to use other news organizations' name."

He also said that they respect to some digital news organizations'decision to charge for content by not publishing it on their news sites. Editor 3 said his news organization doesn't publish content from digital news sites that require paid subscriptions because they are trying to make money from subscriptions.

Generally, the 10 editors from the five different digital mainstream news organizations said that they put the name of the reporter alone, the newspaper name alone or both on an article from other news organizations. But there is no consensus among the editors about reference types. Some digital editors think that putting the name of the reporter pays respect to the journalistic effort.

4.1.7 Theme 7: Impartiality

Readers pay attention to impartiality in news. Urban and Schweiger's work (Urban & Schweiger, 2014) showed that readers understand whether an article is biased or not. Editors also claimed that they can take a stand against their managers when an article is not impartial.

Editor 1 from sozcu.com.tr stated that he feels lucky because he has the right not to publish stories that are biased. He stated that if the administration forced him to publish the story, he would hold his ground and say 'no.' He continued:

"If the news is not fitting my journalistic perspective, it is in my hands not to publish that. That is why I feel lucky. The most disturbing thing in this business for me is non-impartial stories."

Editor 2 stated that readers understand the impartial news in a second. Editor 3 said that he can resist publishing biased stories. Editor 3 is a business and finance editor.

He underlined that in business and finance, most stories are balanced. He continued to elaborate on his stance:

> "Economy is a science. So, if the inflation is 12 percent, you can't write a non-impartial story about it. And the news agencies which we work with in the field of economy are sending us 'clean' stories in that sense. So in economy I can say that most of the news is impartial."

Editor 8 stated that he opinion adjectives in the news such as "great footballer" or "legendary player." He continued:

> "Ethics and impartiality are the two most important things for my journalism. Mostly we are getting the news from the news agency and in that particular news has a huge amount of exaggeration. Sometimes I have to rewrite the whole news again."

Editor 9 elaborated that he avoids exaggeration in descriptions of celebrities. For instance, he said that they don't use the word "sexy" to describe an actress or model. He continued:

> "The institution which I work for doesn't want tabloid journalism. So, I am going smoothly on the stories. For instance, if a celebrity's restaurant bill is so expensive the headline is: Here is the bill of celebrity X, she ate two hamburgers. But if I was in the institution which I work for two years ago, the headline would be: She ate the world!"

So, most of the editors who participated this study said that they believe that they basically have a right to have a say in editorial processes. Most of them claimed that they are particularly sensitive about impartiality. Impartiality in the Turkish media is a controversial topic.

4.1.8 Theme 8: Ratings

Digital media business is mostly based on display advertising (iab, 2018). That is why clickbait headlines take place so much. Basically, rating metrics such as page views have tremendous importance for digital news sites.

In this section, editors explained the importance of click rates and pageviews tor their career. Editor 1 stated that ratings are not too important in his news organization. He underlined that if journalism cares less than the numbers by organizations, this is a bad thing for journalism. He continued:

> "News making processes need solidarity. When the institution cares more about the numbers then this solidarity turns into competition and fights eventually."

Editor 2 said that ratings are extremely important for his organization. But the metrics are changing. Editor 2 explained that pageviews are not as important as it was one year ago. He stated that right now, metrics like the number of visitors and number of sessions are more important than pageviews. He continued:

> "We still care about pageviews, but other metrics also have popped up recently. Clicking on a news article is not the only metric that we are dealing with right now. And ratings have a tremendous effect on my career."

Editor 3 said that pageviews are not important at all for his institution. He stated that quality of the content is much more important. He continued:

> "Right now, making quality content is much more important than making consumable content. Our administration pushes us to generate quality content. Sometimes in a day I am only dealing with two stories even if they are not getting so much attention."

He added that pageview figures are still important, but he stated that he didn't get any feedback about it from his boss, so he assumes that everything is O.K.

Editor 4 explained that ratings are important in his institution. He claimed that his services brings the more clicks to the news site than anybody else's. And he elaborated that sometimes a click race between sections can occur. He continued:

> "Sometimes, our clicks are too good; we are leaving behind every other desk. When we leave everybody is behind so we slow down a bit to not get so much attention."

Editor 7 stated that when it comes to career, ratings are important. But he said that his news organization cares that journalists write news that aligns with the news organization's ideology. He elaborated this way:

> "Acting within the same ideology when it comes to publishing is much more important. You have to know the rule of the game. You have to act with the same ideology with your news organization."

Editor 10 also stated that their manager sometimes acts like ratings are not important, but he said that it is still important for his career. He said that they get monthly reports of their pageviews from the administration. He continued:

> "If the numbers are falling down, someone asks you why."

Ratings are important to news sites and also to the careers of the editors. The interesting point is that some editors mentioned that the metrics are changing. Editors stated that pageviews - which they mostly get from clickbait headlines - is not as important as it is used to be. Time spent, which means how much time readers spent in an article, and session, which means every time a reader enters a site, is more important than it is used to be. Also, some editors said that ratings are not

important. In some institutions, the most important thing to be successful in one's career is to stick with the editorial policy which was determined by the editorial board.

4.1.9 Theme 9: Exclusive news

Exclusive news is important for a news organization because it makes them distinctive from the others. Editor 1 said that he did his last special coverage one month ago and he stated that his institution supports him in developing exclusive content.

Editor 2 stated that there is no pressure to produce exclusive content from his boss, but he is still doing it anyway. He said that he is doing a weekly technology video program. Editor 2 also said:

> "The last administration was more eager about publishing exclusive content. Right now, if I don't produce them, I don't think that anybody asks me why."

Editor 3 said that he is producing "exclusive" content on a daily basis. He said that mostly he translates some stories about several issues. And he stated that their administration encourages them to publish exclusive stories.

Editor 7 stated that no one expects him to produce exclusive content. He continued:

> "The only thing expected from me is to publish the same kind of news again and again and do not harm or ruin the editorial policy."

Most of the editors claimed that they are producing exclusive stories, but most of the news which they described as exclusive look mostly like translation or compilation. But still editors mostly defined the content as exclusive. Editors who have worked for at least two different organizations during their career stated that

their bosses demand so-called exclusives from time to time, but in classical exclusive reporting aspect none of that looks like exclusive reporting. The "exclusive content" consists mostly of bringing some stories together and publishing it.

4.1.10 Theme 10: Career expectations

Editor 1 said that he has no expectation of building a career at his institution. He said:

> "I was a manager before, and I was doing the same job that I am doing in here right now as editor".

Editor 3 said that he has no intention of climbing up the career ladder. He continued:

> "To raise in your career in journalism is not about that you do a great job. In our institution, we don't have so much vertical positions. That's why I don't have any expectation about rising in my career. I am just doing my job and going home."

Editor 4 said that he has a career expectation, but he stated that he is waiting for the right time for it. He said that when the right time comes, he believes that he is going to become a managing editor.

Editor 6 said that he counts on himself to take the next step in his career. He stated that he was a managing editor before he joined his current institution. He said:

"Journalism gets better with your age. So, I have faith in my experience to take my career to next level."

Editor 7 acknowledged that he has no expectation for his career. Editor 7 stated that his institution cares largely about the ideological perspective of journalists. He

stated that's why he does not have any expectation for his career, because he does not share the same ideology with the administration and owner of the institution.

Editor 9 stated that he is eager to rise in his career but that it does not depend only on him. He said that he thinks he can advance his career if he avoids mistakes and consistently produces quality content. He continued:

> "I need to use inside communication channels effectively in the news organization. I think I will be the deputy editor in chief."

Interviewees were divided over whether they could build a career within their current institutions. Some of them had already lost hope about their careers. Some of them underlined that even if they wanted to advance in their career, their media institution won't let them because their ideological differences.

Some of them thinks that more experience will help them to eventually advance in their careers. Other digital journalist have lost hope of building a career because there are few career opportunities in their current institution. They stated that career options are limited. Few of the interviewees stated that they feel like they are at the top of their careers and are expecting advancement.

4.1.11 Theme 11: Days off

Journalists work under a lot of pressure. Deadlines and the cruel competition of digital news work burns them out. Editors at Hurriyet.com.tr, Sozcu.com.tr and Milliyet.com.tr work for six days one week and for five days the second week. So it goes on like this. Editors at NTV.com.tr work five days a week, while editors at Haberturk.com work six days every week.

Out of the five news organizations, the only one that offers five-day work weeks is Ntv.com.tr. None of these institutions give full two-day weekends to their editors.

Editors at Haberturk.com stated that sometimes they feel too tired to work six days in a week. One of them said:

> "Such a work in this tempo limits my imagination, my passion for work and also my effectiveness."

4.1.12 Theme 12: Breaks

Every day, digital journalists work against time. All of the journalists that answered the questions in this research said that they work nine hours a day. During each day, they have three breaks including lunch. Editor 2 stated that he doesn't have a break within the day except during lunch. Lunch time can be flexible between 30-60 minutes.

4.1.13 Theme 13: Publishing count

The number of news articles published by the editors in a day is important for some institutions. Some news organizations subjected to this study care about quantity over quality. According to one editor's statement, Milliyet.com.tr is the first news organization that cares about the news quantity. Editor 3 from Haberturk.com explained that he is mostly translating stories from English to Turkish and from time to time, he prepares "exclusive news" for the organization. He stated that is why his number of articles looks small when compared with other editors. Editor 4 from ntv.com.tr said that on the weekends if he works alone in his section, he publishes up to 30 news stories a day!

4.1.14 Theme 14: Transportation

According to editors' responses, apart from sozcu.com.tr, every news organization provides transportation services for their editors without extra cost. Sozcu.com.tr has transportation services only for night shift employees.

4.1.15 Theme 15: Job quality opinions

Digital editors offered some ideas for how to produce more quality digital journalism. Editor 1 said that the quality of the computers and CMS, (Content Management System), the system where editors write their stories, should be improved to do better journalism. He explained that the computer he uses currently is old and limits him in his job. He also stated that the work hours must be no more than eight hours.

Editor 2 stated that wages must be raised. Editor 2 continued:

> "If you want to motivate your editors, you must pay them more. If you can't give them a permanent pay raise, then from time to time the administration should pay them like a bonus."

Editor 2 also suggested that at least one day in the week, editors should be allowed to work from their homes. He continued:

> "Working from home can be the start of a pilot implementation. If it seen as something useful, then it can continue."

Editor 3 stated that for quality journalism, journalists should access exclusive information by attending events and being out there. He stated that in digital media, most of the journalists only sits at their desks.

Editor 4 strongly asserted that the only thing separating quality journalism and news sites is money. He said:

> "Even if the wages are late one or two days people are starting to be noisy. Money is a key element. If you give everyone a 50-percent raise, you would see a different journalism."

Editor 5 said two problems are an obstacle to quality journalism: wages and lack of demand from the organization. Editor 5 stated that their jobs are devalued. He continued:

> "According to our employees' point of view even interns can do our job. Even children can do our job. So when it comes that way wages are getting lower and lower. And the production quality of the jobs gets smaller and smaller."

Editor 5 also explained that their bosses and chief editors doesn't want exclusive content. Editor 5 stated that:

> "At my old workplace, my bosses pushed me to write more exclusive stories. If I got a solid story, I could make arguments against their words. They were backing me up if my story is O.K. But right now, no one wants any exclusive content."

Editor 7 evaluated the administrations in news organizations as problematic. He said that the administration doesn't support their journalists. He said:

> "In my organization, our bosses told us if someone uses a picture which violates the copyright law, the editor is going pay the bill. So, in such an environment, I am in the same position as a janitor who works with me in my institution. They don't care about news. I have written stories in the past because my bosses have backed me up. Right now, we don't have such things."

Editor 8 stated that the key to quality journalism is hiring more staff in the newsroom. He basically suggested that if more staff come to cover routine developments, the other quality staff can have more time to write exclusive stories. When it comes the money, Editor 8 doesn't think lack of money prevents quality journalism. He continued:

"Routine is so big in digital journalism. Even if you raise a person's wage like 50 percent, he can do good for a while, but then things get normal. People usually think that they earn less than they deserve. So, that's why I don't think that money is the essential problem for quality digital journalism."

There have been different approaches when it comes to the quality question. Some journalists strongly asserted that money is a serious issue for quality journalism. But some of them stated that they need more staff, resources and investment to do more quality journalism. Some of them wanted to work with more reporters, and some of them wanted more editors. Editor 3 urgently recommended that they needed to hire more editors who know English. He said:

"There are only two persons in our newsroom who knows English. We are working with 40 people."

Some editors think that money is not the best solution to produce more quality news. They think that money can be a good incentive for a while, but it is going to lose its effect on quality in time. But others think that money is a good incentive to make quality journalism.

Some editors complained about amount of working days. They mentioned that there have to be more day offs for making quality journalism. They complained about burnout.

Some journalists also stated that their bosses and editors are not qualified or motivated to help them improve the quality of content. They claimed that their bosses are not interested in quality investigative digital journalism. They suggested that most of the chief editors should change.

4.2 Discussion

The answers from the respondents showed two perspectives of digital media from editors' points of view. One perspective concerns news production quality and the other focuses on working condition and personal opinions about digital news production.

The responses from the interviewees show that digital editors generally don't produce multimedia stories. They use some multimedia elements in their stories, but they don't do it consistently. For instance, editors don't produce infographics for their story. Only sozcu.com.tr has a graphic designer who works with the editors, and most of the editors don't work with the graphic designer even if the designer is available.

Editors do not produce video stories for their stories. But if a there is a video available with a story from a news agency, they use it. Most of the digital editors add the video at the bottom of the news article if the video is relevant to the news somehow. They said that they add videos to attract more traffic from Google and to display more advertisements to the audience.

Usually editors do not use HTML codes for Twitter sharing. In 2019, this can look a bit awkward. Some editors stated that their content management systems don't allow them to put basic HTML codes into a story. This shows a true lack of technical knowledge in news sites because most of the multimedia tools like videos, Twitter embeds, Instagram embeds, YouTube embeds and surveys define the contemporary news. The lack of HTML codes reduces the multimedia richness in a story. It is almost impossible for editors to use third-party codes if the content management system does not work well.

Editors' responses show that the design of homepages does not look contemporary. Most of the editors stated that their news sites are too complex for reading a story. Especially in mainstream media, showing display ads is important to pay the bills

of news organizations because most of the news organizations add big spaces for advertising. Most of the time advertising doesn't match with the colors int photographs in the newspaper or current designs. Milliyet.com.tr and Hurriyet.com.tr shows some similarities when it comes to design. They have many photos and big headlines to catch the audience. Digital journalists are not happy with these two sites, but they understand that this kind of design is meant to catch the audience. These kinds of profit-driven designs are not user-friendly. This kind of design creates dissatisfaction during the reading experience.

Haberturk.com's homepage design is more focused about showing a single but big photo to the audience. Editors stated that this kind of design is more editor- and user-friendly. Editors from Sozcu.com.tr also acknowledged that they are not happy with their design, but when they compare their design with different organizations, they find it "clean." When editors mention "clean," they mentioned that pictures and headlines don't tire the eyes.

Among the news organization of interviewees, ntv.com.tr has the most flexible design. Editors in ntv.com.tr can always change the homepage according to the day's requirements. For instance, if a bomb exploded in the middle of Istanbul, editors at ntv.com.tr can use two big vertical news boxes to show the audience. After the bomb incident cools down, editors can take out one vertical box about the bombing incident and can replace with one sport news, for instance.

This kind of flexibility gives editors the ability to adjust their sites according to today's events. Also, this kind of flexibility gives the audience a better user experience.

Editors mentioned that they are careful not to publish fake news and to use correct information in their stories, but trust for the mainstream news organizations is declining worldwide. Even though editors claimed that they are careful not to publish fake news, Turkish digital mainstream media includes fake news on their

sites, and the prevalence is increasing. Regardless of the intention of publishing the fake news it is surprising to see editors claim about the fake news. Even if they claimed that they have authority of publishing, without knowing or intentionally editors publish fake news.

In the classical journalistic sense, if an editor publishes fake news in digital media, they don't publish a correction or an apology article. Instead, they quickly change the false information in seconds. But if a news article was published one hour ago, the false information has already spread through the internet.

If the fake news was featured on the homepage with a big picture, mainstream digital news organizations usually don't disclose their mistakes. They mostly remove the story from the homepage. For instance, they erase the content by basically deleting the link to the story.

There are two big problem with the fake news in the Turkish digital mainstream media. They publish fake news. After they publish it, when they realize the news is fake, they basically hide the story. And these organizations which fell for this fake story are big organizations. Small- or mid-size organizations copy the fake content from big ones. So even if the big ones correct their mistakes, the small sites may have already copied the fake material from the big sites.

Digital journalists mostly don't pay attention to social media in terms of newsgathering. Some of them only check it if they published an exclusive story. Social media is not only a feedback machine for journalists.

There has lots of information wait journalists in social media for journalists to validate the information. None of the 10 journalists mentioned that they use social media for newsgathering. This also shows that usually journalists develop a habit of using only prepared information from news agencies. (Journalists who focus on celebrity news use social media a lot for newsgathering.)

Usually journalists pay attention to social media to get feedbacks from the audience. Only a few of them gives a different angle to their stories based on views they get from the social media. Journalists who pay attention to social media are a good thing for participatory readership. With social media, readers practically become a part of publishing. This culture can be developed with time.

Digital journalists should pay more attention to social media, especially in terms of newsgathering. Most of them don't publish exclusive stories. They mostly depend on news agencies. To create diversity in newsgathering, social media is essential.

On the other hand, digital journalism requires an enormous amount of speed. In this traffic editors can skip some news. Up to this point everything looks normal. But for some cases editors sometimes publishes some stories which published from elsewhere one week ago.

Publishing one-week-old news is a debatable issue. Some editors don't mind publishing one-week-old stories. They mostly think that if the story was not published anywhere in Turkey within the week, then they are comfortable with publishing the story. In some cases even if the story was published in Turkey but not by rivals, then it is still O.K. for the editors to publish the story.

Also, editors sometimes publish stale stories to get clicks. Usually, every section if a news site determines certain rating targets. Some editors publish whatever they find to reach that target.

When it comes to breaking news, editors have no patience. Everybody is in a race to publish first! The publish-first strategy sometimes causes editors to make mistakes. In some situations, editors publish the stories without checking the information. TV stations sometimes automatically broadcast breaking news by digital news organizations without confirming the information.

Digital editors mostly publish secondhand information. Publishing exclusive content is very rare. Some institutions are reluctant to use the name of the source with the story. When they use information from news agencies or other newspapers, they mostly put the name or the name of the organization at the bottom of the story.

Such an act harms the intellectual property law. First, they publish the stories without the permission of the other news organization. Also everyone them publishes another ones story there is no legal issues about it. And secondly, quality journalism requires investment in quality journalists. Sometimes investigative journalists work on a story for months, and other news sites basically steal his or her story sometimes without the reporter's name. This is a disrespectful act against journalists and journalism. And with this method, digital news sites do not have to hire reporters because basically they are using every other news organization's reporters to report their stories.

Most of the digital journalists are aware of the importance of giving reporters credit for their story. The common understanding is to give a byline to the correspondent who wrote the story. Editors cares about the effort of reporting a lot. But some institutions don't let editors use the name of the reporter with the story.

When it came to the news agency articless, editors also don't always use journalists' names in stories they pick up. Instead, they usually credit the news agency at the bottom of the story. News organization act like that because they think that they already paid for the content and they can do whatever they want with it. On paper, this is true. But there is no obstacle to using the news agency reporter's name as well. This is another disrespectful habit of editor against the news agency reporters.

Digital editors also use breaking news material from the national television stations. Editors mostly don't publish the name of the television station. This content just

appears in the news sites without any attribution to the source. So, readers don't know where the content comes from.

Like the situation with fake news, editors claimed that they are concerned about impartiality in the news. Even editors who claimed that they are sensitive about the Turkish mainstream media mostly criticized it for not being impartial (Reuters, 2018). Some editors resist biased content, but their authority has limits. The resistance from editors against publishing biased content is not so common. because editors have limited influence on publishing processes. Usually, they are publishing the news with instructions. So, impartiality is a serious problem in the Turkish digital mainstream media.

Most of the content is coming from news agencies. There are three major news agencies, and one of them is state owned. During a workday, editors publish the stories that come from these agencies, and some of the content from these agencies is questionable.

Ratings are crucial for digital journalists. Most of the digital mainstream news sites earn money from display advertisements. That's why the administration puts pressure on the staff to show more pages to the audience. This advertising environment undermines news quality for money. Journalists don't bother writing exclusive stories because the administration mostly demands from them one thing: Click! So, ratings especially page views are essential for most of the editors.

Editors are aware of this profit model and know that their wages mostly depend on clicks.

Once clicks and profits prevail over quality of reporting in the newsroom, quality journalism declines. Things would have been different if readers actually paid for online news articles, but none of the institutions that participated in this study uses a paywall to gain subscription revenue. As a result, ratings especially clicks are

bread and butter for the digital, profit-based, mainstream news organizations, and ratings has crucial effects on the performance evaluation of individual employees inside newsrooms.

Some news organizations expect journalists to prioritize the institutional publication rules - some of which are ideological – over journalistic standards, which harms the credibility of journalism.

Basically, in digital mainstream media in Turkey, editors don't produce exclusive news. They don't produce it because of various issues. Firstly, most of the editors think that they produce exclusive news but mistake "exclusive news" for basic newsgathering and translation of stories from English to Turkish. Most of the "exclusive news" don't include any opposing views and may lack even a single phone interview.

Secondly, administrations don't want exclusive news from their journalists because it may create some unpleasant consequences. Just a few of the journalists interviewed as part of this research said that their managers encourage them to seek out exclusive stories.

The lack of demand for exclusive news creates laziness and complacency among the digital news editors. In that sense, editors think that only covering the routine developments is enough. Their performance isn't measured by exclusive stories; their success is mostly based on clicks and ratings.

Unfortunately, some of the digital editors do not have any career pursuits. Most of them only do their work and then go straight to their homes afterwards. When a journalist doesn't have any career expectations, it means that his or her productivity will be limited as well. Digital editors are not only to blame for this problem. Administrations also fail to create an environment that encourages career ambition. Most of the administrations care about two major things: first, not making mistakes

in politics news and second, getting the ratings which determined by the administration.

Some of the editors do have career ambitions. Those journalists are mostly around age 40 or older. These journalists understand the limits of journalism in their institution; that's why they think that they are ready to run the newsroom. Some journalists under 40 also still believe that they can do journalism in a digital newsroom too. That's why they feel that they can't get a proper career in the newsroom.

Digital journalists are working a lot in Turkey! Some institutions make the journalists work six days a week. Six days a week creates a schedule in which it is common to experience burnout. They also work about nine hours a day. Given their six-day work weeks, that comes out to 54 hours of work a week. The excessive hours harm their productivity. Journalism is work that requires a clear and fresh mind. Some journalists are a bit luckier in that they work for six days only every other week and on the other weeks, they work for only five days. Just one institution makes room for five days' work every week.

Digital editors have mostly desk jobs compared with print journalists because they are racing against time. Journalists need time to rest and collect their thoughts. Saturday and Sunday work can be in low tempo but they still have to work, preventing the kind of rest and relaxation that could help them rejuvenate their minds and bodies.

Journalists' story counts are enormous. Some editors publish up to 25 news articles a day. Most of the time, editors only copy the material from the news agency terminal and paste the content into their content management system. Basically, some of them work like a machine or artificial intelligence. Such a large volume of news articles means that they also have to select at least 25 pictures, write captions for those photographs and read, edit and sometimes, translate, 25 different stories

in one day. It also means that they have to search and find those 25 news articles to publish on their new outlet's website. When editors try to reach the given target for article count, they sometimes publish nearly everything without scrutiny or concern for the public interest. From official gazette news to some news only means something for 1000 thousand people. The whole institutions which is subjected to this story is a member of mainstream and they are national institutions. This leads to a situation in which every large digital mainstream news organization has similar content. The only big difference between these organizations' content are their columnists who write original opinion pieces for the news outlet. Some of the editors who publish six to seven articles during a day mostly translate foreign news from English to Turkish. In summary, news publishing figures during a day is between six and 25. These numbers are not encouraging quality journalism. Instead, they turn the journalists into an output machine in a bid to get more and more clicks.

Editor 1 from sozcu.com.tr has said that he publishes 13 news articles during a day. Editor 8 from sozcu.com.tr has stated that he publishes 12.

Editor 4 from ntv.com.tr said that he publishes about 20 news stories each day, and Editor 9 said his average is about 18 articles.

Editor 6 from milliyet.com.tr said that she publishes 20 news stories a day, while Editor 7 said that she publishes 25.

Editor 2 from hurriyet.com.tr has stated that she publishes 10 articles a day. Editor 10 has stated that he publishes 10 stories a day.

Editor 5 from haberturk.com stated that he published 25 news articles during a day. Editor 3 from haberturk.com stated that he publishes six news articles during a day.

Journalists usually takes shuttles to go to work. Turkish digital journalists are lucky in that sense. The shuttle service also saves them money because they do not have

to pay for public transportation or fuel for a personal vehicle. Digital news organizations also provide some meals for the journalists, as well. Some organizations give journalists lunch cards, while others provide actual meals at the office.

The content management system in the Turkish digital mainstream media generally do not work well and cannot keep up with current technology. Editors can't use most of the html codes in their systems. That restricts them from embedding YouTube videos (except advertising concerns), Twitter posts and any third-party tools which make a story interactive. The stories largely lack interactivity. In that sense, the Turkish digital mainstream media follow the same practices as print media when it comes to news producing.

Some editors don't actually know what kind of tools they can use in a story to make a story more interactive, and most administrations don't demand that kind of advanced digital content either. Basically, the Turkish digital mainstream media still produces digital news the same way as in 2005. Some of them complain about their content management systems, but they don't care whether they produce multimedia content, because there is no demand from the administrations for it. Administrations only care about the content in the stories. They basically care about the letters instead of infographics.

A senior digital editor earns around 4000-7000 Turkish Liras per month. Minimum wage in Turkey 2,000 liras. Raising wages does not change the quality of content in digital mainstream media because simply the measure of success in the business is not the quality of the content. Some editors think that because the daily workload is already so heavy that raising wages won't make any difference in the quality of the content. Raising wages might only affect clicks and ratings. One editor suggested that hiring more staff to do more desk work might help to improve the quality of digital content. His solution was based on the idea that when less skilled editors are doing the leg work, the other editors might have time to work on higher

quality digital content. To summarize, a general pay raise won't affect the quality of digital content because most of the current staff and administrations have a limited vision about digital storytelling tools.

Digital journalists are pushed by their administration to achieve high ratings and chase many stories, which creates a burnout. Most journalists interviewed in this research study complained about six-day work weeks. They claimed that if they had weekends off, their creativity would escalate. Indeed, their creativity or performance might blossom if they had weekends to themselves. This might be a good point from the editors. Working six days without a break harms performance. Especially editors at haberturk.com work an excessive amount.

Editor 5 underlined the issue of administrative support for news producing. Administrations do not encourage or lead their staff and editors to produce exclusive digital content. Editors want to see a professionally-equipped editor lead their newsroom especially when it comes to exclusive investigative online journalism.

Some editors in this study complained that they are not working in a comfortable environment. Editors feel that if they make a mistake about political news, or select the wrong photo, they are going to pay the price with their job or their salary. Some editors stated that occasionally, they are warned about copyright penalties for using an unauthorized photograph because their administrations said that they are going to pay the penalty for using the photographs. Editors feel that if they make a mistake, they are going to be only person responsible for this mistake, and they can be fired according to the severity of the mistake. If an employee feels this way, they avoid taking responsibility. And in one moment he or she becomes nonproductive.

Talented digital journalists have to spend a lot of time at their desks and cover routine events due to a lack of staff. That is why some of them can't find time to focus on exclusive news. When they focus on one particular story often a routine

breaking news comes along, and they have to interrupt the story project they had been working on. This is why it is essential to hire more staff to cover routine developments, thus talented digital journalists can find more time to cover exclusive stories.

Foreign language skills are essential for journalism. Knowing a foreign language doesn't just help with translating news from English to Turkish; it also helps the editor to investigate a story, too. Sadly, foreign language skills are limited in Turkish digital newsrooms. For instance, Editor 3 said that only three people in his 40-member newsroom know English. This situation is common according to responses from other editors who were part of this study. In the 21st century, the biggest news organizations in Turkey definitely should revise their hiring strategy. Arabic, Greek and Russian languages are also important for the Turkish press because an important part of foreign news comes from the Middle East, Russia and Greece. But the staff don't know these languages either.

CONCLUSION

Digital news production processes consist of different types of production steps such as news writing, reporting, newsgathering, design and distribution. It is a complex process in normative ways. In the Turkish digital mainstream media, these steps are reduced to two: news producing and sensational presentation. Mostly the news content comes from the main three (AA, İHA, DHA) news agencies. And all of them are likely to publish the same content. News presentation is mostly based on the tabloid press tradition and accordingly, stories tend to feature sensational clickbait headlines.

News outlet administrations look like they tend to care more for ratings and clicks than producing quality news. Given that their revenue is not based on a subscription model, they are making money from display advertisements. More clicks mean more advertisements for the audience and more money for the news outlet. Owners of the digital mainstream media in Turkey may don't see digital news as something worth investment, therefore they don't see digital journalists, or digital journalism, as worth investment.

Exclusive news production is experiencing a crisis in the Turkish digital mainstream media in terms of both quality and quantity. Editors mostly publish content which has already been published by other institutions. The biggest digital mainstream news organizations in Turkey are news aggregators. This situation refers to Marx's (1973) explanation on production-consumption relation. Marx, in Grundrisse, states that "Without production, no consumption but also without consumption no production" (Marx, 1973 pp. 25).

According to Raeymaeckers, Paulussen and De Keyser (2011), three major resources are used by digital newsrooms to produce news online. Journalists consume press releases, content published by other media resources and news agency materials to produce online news articles. Publishing already-published

news by other media organizations and news agency materials shows that digital news production online is a "productive consumption" attempt in the understanding of Marx's definition of production consumption relations (Marx, 1973). Content in the Turkish digital mainstream media are not unique mostly. A large proportion of the content is based on reproduction of newspaper and television news. This can reduce the journalistic reflexes of digital journalists.

The quantity of news production in a day can be massive in some cases. Some administrations force their editors to publish up to 25 news articles per day. When quantity rises, quality can often diminish. Institutions who force their editors to publish more than 20 news articles in a day also force journalists to change the manner of production like the English method. When England conquered Ireland, they forced them to produce crops with the English method. But the Ottoman Empire and Roman Empire left existing modes of production intact and took the products as a tribute. Digital news production is like the English method; it forces journalists to chhange their manner of production (Marx, 1973, p.26).

Administrations demand more articles and desk work from journalists in terms of digital news production (Simmons, 2017; Alvares, 2004; Deuze, 2005). When administrations force journalists to publish more and more news articles, the quality of the news can become problematic.

In some examples, editors in the Turkish digital mainstream media often twist reality to get more clicks. From time to time digital editors twist or exaggerate the truth to get more clicks just as tabloid journalists bend the truth to sell more newspapers. (Turner, 1999). This explains one of the biggest characteristic elements of the tabloid press: Tabloids sacrifice information for entertainment. They choose sensation over accuracy.

Digital journalism in the Turkish digital mainstream media has similarities with the traditional tabloid press when it comes to its propensity for sensation. Headlines in

digital news also are sensationalized (Frampton, 2015). But this is not unique only to the Turkish digital mainstream media. Kilgo, Harlow, Garcia-Perdomo and Salaverria (2016) examined stories from widely-known digital media outlets from the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, and they found that 45.8 percentof the news published by those platforms are sensational.

The tradition of tabloid journalism doesn't show itself only in headlines in the Turkish digital mainstream media. These news sites publish a vast amount of content about scandals, crime news, celebrity news and sports, more so than broadsheet papers. Picard underlines that scandals, crime, celebrities and gossip are the indispensable topics of tabloid journalism (Picard,1998; Hürriyet 2017).

Fake news is a certain reality in Turkish digital mainstream media. Digital news editors accept that they publish fake news in most cases unintentionally. It is apparent that editors publish fake news mostly by mistake. But when they do, they do not take full responsibility for their mistakes nor do they disclose their mistakes to the public. Digital mainstream news organizations often don't apologize for the fake content regardless of the size of the mistake. They usually just don't do it. Instead of correcting the mistake transparently, digital journalists often erase the story from homepage.

They correct the false information in the story in a surreptitious way. Rarely do they delete the URLs. Most of the time, editors delete the story link from Twitter or Facebook and change the headlines of the fake or inaccurate story. From time to time, the fake news can be corrected a day after the time it was first published. Administrations should take more precautions against fake news and inaccurate information. According to Reuters Institute (2018), 60 percent of Turkish internet users are not sure about the accuracy of information in news articles.

In Turkish digital mainstream media, homepages are built for more display advertisements than for the audience. News organizations use colorful headlines

and sometimes GIF's to get readers' attention. They prepare covers in Photoshop to get more reader. The design of homepages in Turkish digital mainstream media are designed to catch readers' attention. The attention economy shows in every feature of the Turkish digital mainstream media.

Turkish digital mainstream media focuses on display advertising to catch readers' attention. Lichfield, (2018) has kept responsible attention economy for garbage content, fake news and the excessive power of the giant social media platforms. News organizations may act ambitiously when it comes to advertisements it shows to the audience. Lichfield (2018) adds that when publishers build a paywall for content, attention economy loses its power. But right now, the attention economy is strong in Turkish digital mainstream media because the content is free. And the design of the homepages has always been aimed to show more and more display advertising with clickbait headlines.

On the other hand, administrations of digital mainstream newsrooms in Turkey evaluate an editor's performance usually with ratings. This creates a harmful environment for journalism quality. When their performance is degraded to clicks and figures, editors may make journalism standards secondary and try to find any content to get those clicks. If they don't have valid content for their homepage, they sometimes create it by twisting the truth and exaggerating the essence of the news. This practice is a routine.

Exclusive news and digital interactive content are take second priority because there has no demand for it from administrations. Small exceptions were observed, but most of the editors in chief or deputy editors in chief only want to see what is coming from news agencies on the news site.

This study revealed that the language skills of digital journalists are limited. Out of 10 journalists who participated this study, six don't know English. Lack of language skills also reflects in publishing, too. Editors stated that only foreign news desk

employees in the digital newsrooms know English. From sports services to economy service, English skills are weak. Some editors stated that they use Google Translate for news. Google Translate obviously can sometimes generate inaccurate or misleading translations and is not ideal for translating important news from English to Turkish (BBC, 2018; The Atlantic, 2018).

In these five big mainstream digital news outlets, a maximum five people know proper English in each newsroom, according to respondents' answers. In 2019, this is a serious problem. Lack of English is a serious problem in the private sector in Turkey, too. The biggest companies make English obligatory for potential candidates. But in journalism in Turkey, generally English is not something obligatory for journalists except on the foreign news desk (Hurriyet, 2015; Tepav, 2011). But journalism work is about gathering and interpreting information, and information about the world mostly comes in English. This is a huge limitation in Turkish digital news media and should be promptly addressed.

One of the other problems with journalist qualification and digital labor is that journalists erroneously believe that they are producing exclusive news and content. Often the English-speaking editors who participated in this study said they put their byline on news articles that they translated from another language and call it exclusive content. Most of the news organizations exaggerate the content which is written by their staff by calling it "exclusive" because they want to the prestige of exclusive news with their readers.

But most of the articles are not exclusive; editors just add some detailed information to news agency reports or translate a story from English to Turkish. When the editors actually pick up telephone and talk with a source, they usually publish only one side of the story. Exclusive news producing reflects some poor journalism examples in Turkish mainstream digital media. Understanding of investigative reporting and exclusive coverage is lacking in Turkish digital mainstream media.

Editors are not aware of the need to create multimedia stories. Basically, they see multimedia coverage as "extra" work. But it can be said that editors are aware of using video which originally produced by other institutions inside the stories. This is something positive because they know the value of enrichment content. They know it because Google indexes their story in a higher position if they add a video. But when it comes to using third-party HTML codes, making infographics or inserting surveys or tests inside a story, they either have no interest or skill to do so.

Most of the editors build a wall between themselves and social media. They don't care about most of the readers' comments. They may have a point because readers mostly complain about the content itself. Sometimes, readers complain about whether the news is newsworthy or not. But from time to time, some careful readers add a different angle for stories. Most of the time, editors disregard these comments. Sometimes, they feel that they are superior to the readers because they set the agenda and they know better. But this is a misguided attitude. Ignoring social media is not beneficial for a healthy news organization.

Intellectual property is like the Wild West in Turkish digital mainstream media. As the research highlighted, digital journalists usually use material that is mostly produced by other outlets. When digital editors publish a story from a print newspaper, they don't always put the reporters name on the story. Most of the time, they put the name of the news organization. Sometimes, they use the name of the reporter. Sometimes, they don't mention the news organization or reporter's name. They sometimes basically publish the content as if it is their own intellectual property.

Journalists are free to take breaks without time constrains. The work environment is not too oppressive in that sense. But the days off during a week are inadequate for rest. Some editors only take days off on a Saturday or Sunday. One day in a

week is not enough to rest. Journalists should have a rested mind to write new, unique and game-changing stories.

Editors claim that they are sensitive about impartiality in the news. Ten out of 10 editors who participated this story claimed that. This claim is not entirely accurate. Some editors publish any content they find online that will improve their ratings. In some similar studies, editors mentioned that they mostly mind whether the story is going be read by users on not (Deniz & Özel, 2018). Digital editors heavily publish news from social media and state or private news agencies. The impartiality of those sources is a topic of debate.

Keeping digital news sites up to date is crucial for digital journalists because the internet is awake 7/24. But from time to time, the fierce click competition on the web drives digital editors to publish whatever they find online. In some cases, editors publish one-week-old stories. According to some responses from editors, some content, especially photo galleries, are published by editors three to four times in a year.

Some editors think that money is the only solution to improve the quality of digital journalism because in current news environment wages are not enough. Some suggest that if they can rest more, they can create more creative and compelling stories. They demand more days off.

The journalists who participated this study have worked in digital newsrooms between 10-15 years. They rarely have produced exclusive stories. Most of the time they just copied the news from the news agency panels and pasted it into their websites. Over the years, they have received some pay raises. If those pay increases enhanced their performance, the effects were only temporary.

One editor suggested that administrations should hire more editors to cover routine stories so that the talented editors can focus on multimedia and exclusive news.

This suggestion makes sense because even if an editor has talent, he spends his time in the newsroom reporting on routine developments.

REFERENCES

Akdal, T. (2017). Yazılı basın ve elektronik medyada haber kalitesindeki farklılıklar ve güvenilirlik olgusunun incelenmesi, *Ulakbilge Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi,* 5(9), 43-65.

Arapakis, I, Peleja, F, Cambazoglu, B. & Magalhaes, J. (2016) Linguistic Benchmarks of Online News Article Quality. *Proceedings of the 54th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics, pages.1893–1902.*

Aviles, G., Leon, B., Sanders, K., & Harrison, J. (2006). Journalists at digital television newsrooms in Britain and Spain: Workflow and multi-skilling in a competitive environment. *Journalism Studies*, 5(1), 87-100.

Alterman, E. (2016, November 10) *Election 2016 and the Collapse of Journalistic Standards.* Retrieved from https://www.thenation.com/article/television-fail/

Avşar, B. (2018, July 10) *#Seçim2018 sahte haber karnesi: Kaç ihbar aldık kaçını doğruladık?* Retrieved from https://teyit.org/secim2018-sahte-haber-karnesi-kac-ihbar-aldik-kacini-dogruladik/

Allcott, H., Gentzkow, M., & Yu, C.. (2018). *Trends in the Diffusion of Misinformation on Social Media.* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327717892_Trends_in_the_Diffusion_of_Misinformation_on_Social_Media

Alexa (2019, 12 January) *Dailymail.co.uk analysis.* Retrieved from https://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/dailymail.co.uk

Andrejevic, M. (2009) Exploiting YouTube: Contradictions of user-generated labour. In Snickars P. & Vonderau, P, *The YouTube Reader*, (pp. 406-423) Logopitas: Lithuania.

Andrejevic, M. (2011). Surveillance and Alienation in the Online Economy. *Marketing, Consumption and Surveillance*, 8(3), 278-287.

Arvidsson, A., & E. Colleoni (2012) Value in information capitalism and on the Internet. *The Information Society.* (28), 135–50.

Alshenqeet, H. (2014) Interviewing as a Data Collection Method: A Critical Review. *English Linguistics Research,* 3(1), 39-45.

Anceschi, L. (2015) The persistence of media control under consolidated authoritarianism: Containing Kazakhstan's digital media. *Demokratizatsiya.* 23(3), 277-295.

Arnold, Klaus. (2009). Quality Journalism: Newspaper and Its Audience. *Konstanz: UVK.*

Berlin, I. (1970) Karl Marx: His Life and Environment. *Oxford: Oxford University*

Baisnée, O.&Marchetti, D.. (2006). The economy of just-in-time television newscasting: Journalistic production and professional excellence at Euronews. *Ethnography*, (7), 99-123.

Bolton, D & Yaxley, J. (2017) Fake news and clickbait-natural enemies of evidence based medicine. *BJU International.* 119 (8), 2.

Beckett, C. (2010, December 21). The value of networked journalism. *The Value of Networked Journalism.* Retrieved from http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/POLIS/documents/Polis%20papers/ValueofNet workedJournalism.pdf

Bryant, N. (2018, January 18) *Donald Trump and pop culture presidency.* Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20180117-donald-trump-and-the-pop-culture-presidency

Bershidsky, L. (2015, September 29) *Can Business Insider make money?* Retrieved from https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2015-09-29/can-business-insider-make-money-

Bastos, M. T. (2016). *Digital Journalism and Tabloid Journalism.* Retrieved from http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/15368/

Boyce, C. & Neale, P. (2006) *Conducting In-Depth Interview: A Guide for Designing and Conducting In-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input.* Retrieved from

http://www2.pathfinder.org/site/DocServer/m_e_tool_series_indepth_interviews.p df

Bertin M, Luis A.W, Maria, E. & Frank, M.L. (2018) *The digital transformation of news media and the rise of disinformaiton and fake news.* Retrieved from

https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/publication/eur-scientific-and-technical-research-reports/digital-transformation-news-media-and-rise-disinformation-and-fake-news

Babu, A, Liu, A. & Zhang J. (2017, May 17) *New Updates to Reduce Clickbait Headlines*. Retrieved from https://newsroom.fb.com/news/2017/05/news-feed-fyi-new-updates-to-reduce-clickbait-headlines/

Better Ads (2019) *Better Ads Standards: Least preferred ad experiences for desktop web and mobile web.* Retrieved from https://www.betterads.org/standards/

Burkhardt, J. (2017) Combating fake news in digital age. *Library Technology Reports,* 53(8), 5-8.

Business Insider (2018, 2 February) *Business Insider (now "Insider Inc") had a great year in 2017*. Retrieved from https://www.businessinsider.com/business-insider-employees-revenue-subscribers-2018-2

Braverman, H. (1998). Labor and monopoly capital : the degradation of work in the twentieth century. *New York: NYU Press*.

Baum M. & Potter P. (2008) The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis. *Annual Review of Political Science,* 11(1), 39-65.

Bryan, B. (2016, February 16). *The US economy is getting better, but US workers are getting worse.* Retrieved from https://www.businessinsider.com/labor-quality-growth-is-terrible-2016-2

Best, J. W.; Khan, J. V. (2003). Research in education (9th ed.). *Toronto: Allyn and Bacon.*

Bromley, M. (1997) 'The end of journalism? Changes in workplace practices in the press and broadcasting in the 1990s. *London: Routledge.*

Berg, B. L. (2007). Qualitative research methods for the social sciences. *London: Pearson*, 39.

Browing N.&Sweetser D. (2014) The Let Down Effect: Satisfaction, Motivation, and Credibility, Assesments, of Political infotainment. *American Behavioral Scientist* 58(6), 810-826

BBC. (2018, August 23) *Pay, the big headache for graduates seeking jobs in journalism*

Corbyn: Tech firm tax could fund journalism. Retrieved from
https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-45271286

Beck, K., Reineck, D. & Schubert, C. (2010). *Journalistische Qualität in der Wirtschaftskrise. UVK Verlagsgesellschaft*

Cambridge Dictionary (2019, May 7) *Fake news.* Retrieved from
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/fake-news

Chen B. (2015, October 1) *Putting mobile ad block to the test.* Retrieved from
https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/01/technology/personaltech/ad-blockers-mobile-iphone-browsers.html

CNBC. (2017, May 17) *The Dail Mail has 'mastered the art of running stories that aren't true', Wikipedia founder Jimmy Wales says* Retrieved from
https://www.cnbc.com/2017/05/19/daily-mail-jimmy-wales-fake-news-wikipedia-wikitribune.html

Clinton, J.; Enamorado, T. (2014) The National News Media's Effect on Congress: How Fox News Affected Elites in Congress. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(4), 928-943.

Cubas, G., B. Ravikumar & Ventura, G. (2016). Talent, Labor Quality, and Economic Development. *Review of Economic Dynamics, Elsevier for the Society for Economic Dynamics*. (21), 160-181.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions. *Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.*

Cappella, J., Price, V & Nir, L. (2002). Argument repertoire as a reliable and valid measure of opinion quality: Electronic dialogue during campaign 2000. *Political Communication*, (19), 73–93.

De Keyser, J., Raeymaeckers, K. & Paulussen, S. (2011). *Are citizens becoming sources? A look into Flemish journalists' professional contacts. Journalists, Sources, and Credibility*. In Journalists, Sources, and Credibility: New Perspectives, (pp. 139-153). London: Routledge

Deniz, Ş. & Özel Korap, E. (2018). Bana Okurunu Söyle, Sana Manşetini Söyleyeyim: Gazetecilerin, İçerik Hiyerarşisini ve Gündemi Belirlemede Okurun

Değişen Rolüne Bakışı, *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*. (17), 915-940.

Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism?: Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, 6(4), 442–464.

DiLascio-Martinuk, Tracey M. (2018), *Salem Press Encyclopedia*

Demir, S.& Bulut Ç. (2018). İnternet Gazeteciliği ve Çalışma: Emek Süreci Ekseninde Bir İnceleme 2018. *Academia Journal of Social Sciences.* (1)

Deuze, M.& Dimoudi, C. (2002) 'Online journalists in The Netherlands: towards a profile of a new profession', *Journalism*. 3(1): 103-118.

Denzin, N. K.& Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). Handbook of qualitative research. *Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.*

Druckman, J. N. (2014). Pathologies of studying public opinion, political communication, and democratic responsiveness. *Political Communication*, (31), 467–492.

Di Carlo, M. (2012, April 1) *Measuring Journalist Quality.* Retrieved from http://www.shankerinstitute.org/blog/measuring-journalist-quality

Dörneyi, Z. (2007). Research Methods in Applied Linguistics. *Oxford: Oxford University Press.*

Deuze, M. (2007) Convergence culture in the creative industries. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(2), 243-263.

Doğruluk Payı, (2018, December 27) *Doğruluk Payı'nda 2018'in En'leri!* Retrieved from https://www.dogrulukpayi.com/bulten/dogruluk-payi-nda-2018-in-en-leri

Entman, R. (2007) Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power Journal of Communication. 57(1), 163–173.

Entman, R. (1993) Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.

Esser, F. (1999). Tabloidization of News. A Comparative Analysis of Anglo-American and German Press Journalism. *European Journal of Communication*. 14(3), 291-324

Everbach, T. & Flournoy, C. (2007). Women Leave Journalism for Better Pay, Work Conditions. *Newspaper Research Journa*l (28), 52-64.

Everette, D. (1974) The Regeneration of Political Cartooning. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly,* 51(4), 664-669.

Fuchs, C. (2016). Digital Labor and Imperialism. *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, 67(8), 14-24.

Fuchs, Christian. 2015. Culture and Economy in the Age of Social Media. *New York: Routledge*, p. 51

Frampton, B. (2015, September 14) *Clickbait The changing online face of journalism*. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-34213693

Finney, M.(2016, July 26) *Don't underrate news brands' ability to deliver.* Retrieved from https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/dont-underrate-news-brands-ability-deliver/1403553

Fuchs,C. (2013) Class and exploitation on the Internet:.Digital labor. In T. Scholz, *The Internet as playground and factory*. (pp. 211-224) London: Routledge

Fish A.;&Srinivasan R. (2011) Digital labor is the new killer app. *New Media & Society,* 14(1), 137-152.

Ferucci P.; Painter, C. (2017) Print Versus Digital: How Medium Matters on House of Cards. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 41(2), 124-139.

Fritch, J.;Robert C. (2001) Evaluating Internet Resources: Identity, Affiliation, and Cognitive Authority in a Networked World. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* (52 (6)), 499–507.

Freedom House (2018, November 1) *The Rise of Digital Authoritarianism: Fake News, Data Collection and The Challenge to Democracy*. Retrieved from https://freedomhouse.org/article/rise-digital-authoritarianism-fake-news-data-collection-and-challenge-democracy

Fuchs, C.; Sandoval, M. (2014) Digital Workers of the World Unite! A Framework for Critically Theorising and Analysing Digital Labour. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique*. 12(2)

Fuchs, C. (2012). The Political Economy of Privacy on Facebook. *Television & New Media*, 13(2), 139-159.

Fuchs, C.& Sevignani, S. (2013). What Is digital labour? What Is digital work? What's their difference? *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique*, 11(2), 237-293.

Gladney, G. A., Shapiro, I. & Castaldo, J. (2007) Online Editors Rate Web News Quality Criteria. *Newspaper Research Journal* , 28(1), 55-69.

Government of UK (2018, February 6) *New review launched of press sustainability in the UK. Government of UK.* Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-review-launched-of-press-sustainability-in-the-uk

Google. (2019, May 12) *Ever wondered how to make money advertising? Try Google Adsense.* Retrieved from https://www.google.com/adsense/start/resources/making-money-with-google-adsense.html#/

Google. (2019, 12 May) *Dijital pazarlama için Google Ads kullanma.* Retrieved from https://support.google.com/google-ads/answer/6227565

Guest. (2016, December 28) *While We're Going After Fake News, How About Ad Scams, Too?* Retrieved from https://www.adweek.com/digital/jon-brotherhood-glassview-guest-post-ad-scams/

Gleenslade, R. (2017, October 9) *How blurring of fact and comment kicked open the door to fake news.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/media/commentisfree/2017/oct/09/how-a-blurring-of-fact-and-comment-kicked-open-the-door-to-fake-news-roy-greenslade

Grueskin, B., Seave A. & Graves L. (2011, May 10) *The Story So Far: What We Know About the Business of Digital Journalism.* Retrieved from https://www.cjrarchive.org/img/posts/report/The_Story_So_Far.pdf

Gans, H. J. (2003, March 16) *'Democracy and the News'.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/16/books/chapters/democracy-and-the-news.html

Gleenslade, R. (2010, June 4) *Pay, the big headache for graduates seeking jobs in journalism.* Retrieved from

https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2010/jun/04/journalism-education-newspapers

Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2001). From the individual interview to the interview society. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research* (pp. 3-32), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sages

Gleenslade, R. (2014, January 14) *The reality of digital newsrooms: 'copy thrown online with a photo'.* Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2014/jan/14/newspapers-digital-media

Habermas, J. (2006) Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research *Communication Theory*, 16(4), 411–426.

Heath, A. (2016, November 7) *Obama: Fake News on Facebook is creating a 'dust cloud of nonsense'* Retrieved from https://www.businessinsider.com/obama-fake-news-facebook-creates-dust-cloud-of-nonsense-2016-11

Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2004). War and Democracy in The Age of Empire. *The Penguin Press New York,* p 108.

Hicks, S. (2014, 12 October) *This is how click bait can make your ads better.* Retrieved from https://www.adweek.com/brand-marketing/how-click-bait-can-make-your-ads-better-160681/

Hindman M.&Vlad, B. (2018, 4 October) *New report tracks 6.6 million tweets to fake and conspiracy news publishers in the month before the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.* Retrieved from: https://knightfoundation.org/press/releases/new-report-tracks-6-6-million-tweets-to-fake-and-conspiracy-news-publishers-in-the-month-before-the-2016-u-s-presidential-election

Hassan, I.; Latiff, N.; Engku A.; Engku S.; (2015). Readers' Motivations towards Online Newspaper Reading in Northwestern Nigeria. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*. 5(8).

Hrvatin S.B., Petković B. (2015) Political Pluralism in the Media In *Media Pluralism and Diversity.* 107-120.

Herman, B. (2015, 17 December) *Begun, The Platform War Has.* Retrieved from https://www.niemanlab.org/2015/12/begun-the-platform-war-has/

Hoyos, M.& Barnes, S.A. (2012) Analysing Interview Data, *Warwick Institute for Employment Research.*

Heinrich A.; Pleines H. (2017) The Meaning of 'Limited Pluralism' in Media Reporting under Authoritarian Rule. *Politics and Governance.* 6(2), 103–111.

Heywood, J. & Belman, D. (1990). Market Structure and Worker Quality. *Journal of Industrial Economics.* (39). 155-168.

Hagen, I. (1995). *The Morality of TV Viewing: Dilemmas in People's Everyday Lives.* 12th Nordic Conference for Mass Communication Research, Helsingör 12-15 August.

Hürriyet (2017, December 28) *En çok okunan haber, en fazla paylaşılan video... İşte Hürriyet'te 2017'nin 'en'leri.* Retrieved from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/en-cok-okunan-haber-en-fazla-paylasilan-video-iste-hurriyette-2017nin-enleri-40693025

iab UK. (2018, October 10) *UK digital adspend grows by 15% year on year.* Retrieved from https://www.iabuk.com/press-release/uk-digital-adspend-grows-15-year-year

iab Türkiye (2018, October 11) *2018 İlk Yarı Dijital Reklam Yatırımları Açıklandı.* Retrieved from https://www.iabturkiye.org/2018-ilk-yari-dijital-reklam-yatirimlari-aciklandi

iab. (2019, February) *iab Türkiye internet ölçümleme araştırması: Şubat Overnight Top 20 Listeleri.* Retrieved from https://www.iabturkiye.org/UploadFiles/TopTwentyFiles/Internet_audience_toplist_02_2019_Overnight%20v2.pdf

Ireland, S. (2018) Fake news alerts: Teaching news literacy skills in a meme world, *The Reference Librarian.* 59(3)). 122-128.

Jackson. (2017, February 8) *Wikipedia bans Daily Mail as unreliable source.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/feb/08/wikipedia-bans-daily-mail-as-unreliable-source-for-website

Jenkins, H. (2006, June 19) *Welcome to Convergence Culture.* Retrieved from *http://henryjenkins.org/blog/2006/06/welcome_to_convergence_culture.html*

José Linz, J. (2000). *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes.* Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248121338_Totalitarian_and_Authoritarian_Regimes

Kilgo, D. K., Harlow, S., García-Perdomo, V., & Salaverría, R. (2018). A new sensation? An international exploration of sensationalism and social media recommendations in online news publications. *Journalism*, 19(11), 1497–1516.

Kvale, S. (2007) Doing Interviews. *CA: Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.*

Kurtz, H. (1993). Media Circus: The Trouble with Newspapers. *New York: Random House*

Kshetri, N.& Voas, J. (2017) The Economics of Fake News. *IT Professional*, 19(6), 8-12.

Kalsın, Berrin. (2016). Online Journalism From Past to Future: The Case of Turkey 2016 *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies,* (1), 75-90.

Kalb, M. (1997). *Editorial: The Clock is Ticking.* Retrieved from http://ww38.intellectualcapital.com/issues/97/0102/index

Kilgo, D. K., Harlow, S., García-Perdomo, V., & Salaverría, R. (2018). A new sensation? An international exploration of sensationalism and social media recommendations in online news publications. *Journalism*, *19*(11), 1497–1516.

Liebman, L. (2005, January 1) Watchdog or Demagogue? The Media in the Chinese Legal System. *Columbia Law Review,* 105(1), 1–157.

Lourdes, M; McKirdy E. (2018, April 4) *India makes U-turn after proposing to punish 'fake news' publishers.* Retrieved from https://edition.cnn.com/2018/04/03/asia/india-fake-news-intl/index.html

Lawson, C.; McCann, J. (2005). Television News, Mexico's 2000 Elections and Media Effects in Emerging Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 35(1), 1-30.

Lamb, K. (2018, July 6) *Cambodia 'fake news' crackdown prompts fears over press freedom.* Retrieved from

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/06/cambodia-fake-news-crackdown-prompts-fears-over-press-freedom

Lyons, T. (2018, June 21) *Increasing Our Efforts to Fight False News.* Retrieved from https://newsroom.fb.com/news/2018/06/increasing-our-efforts-to-fight-false-news/

Larcom, W. (2017, February 22) *Clickbait, Not Fake News: Impact of Digital Advertising on Journalism.* Retrieved from https://medium.com/@Hanapin/clickbait-not-fake-news-the-impact-of-digital-advertising-on-journalism-feb864caf71f

Lazzarato, M. (1996). *Immaterial Labor.* Retrieved from http://www.generation-online.org/c/fcimmateriallabour3.htm

Leadbeater C.& Miller, P. (2004) The 20th century was shaped by the rise of professionals. But now a new breed of amateurs has emerged. *New York: Demos*

Lacuesta, A., Puente, S. & Cuadrado, P. (2008) *Omitted Variables In the Measure of a Labour Quality Index: The Case of Spain.* Retrieved from https://www.bde.es/f/webbde/SES/Secciones/Publicaciones/PublicacionesSeriadas/DocumentosTrabajo/08/Fic/dt0835e.pdf

Marx, K. (1973). Foundation of the Critique of Political Economy (Grundrisse), *New York: Penguin Books*

Mosco, V. (2012). Marx is Back, But Which One? On Knowledge Labour and Media Practice, *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique,* 10 (2), 570-576.

McQuail, D. (2005). McQuail's Mass Communication Theory. *London: SAGE Publications*

McQuail, D. (1992). Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest. *London: Sage Publication*

Myers, K. (2019, 2 January) *Journalism Continues To Be Bad For Democracy.* Retrieved from https://www.niemanlab.org/2019/01/journalism-continues-to-be-bad-for-democracy/

Magna Global (2017, December 4) *Magna Advertising Forecast Winter Update.* Retrieved from https://magnaglobal.com/magna-advertising-forecasts-winter-update/

McChesney R. (2016) Journalism is dead! Long live journalism?: Why democratic societies will need to subsidise future news production. *Journal of media business studies,* 13(3), 128-135.

Manninen, V. (2017) Sourcing practices in online journalism: an ethnographic study of the formation of trust in and the use of journalistic sources. *Journal of Media Practice*, 18 (2-3), 212-228.

Meyer, R. (2018, March 8) *The Grim Conclusions of the Largest-Ever Study of Fake News.* Retrieved from https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2018/03/largest-study-ever-fake-news-mit-twitter/555104/

Mitchell, A& Rosenstiel (2011) *The state of news media.* Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2017/05/State-of-the-News-Media-Report-2012-FINAL.pdf

Merriam, S.B. (2013). Nitel Araştırma Desen ve Uygulama İçin Bir Rehber, *Ankara: Nobel Yayınları.*

Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A;, Levy, D & Kleis Nielsen, R. (2018). *Digital News Report 2018*. Retrieved from http://media.digitalnewsreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/digital-news-report-2018.pdf?x89475

Ofxam. (2019) *Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews.* Retrieved from https://itp.nyu.edu/classes/fungus/interview_technique/conductingInterviews.pdf

Örnebring, H. (2010). Technology and journalism-as-labour: Historical perspectives. *Journalism.* (11), 57-74. Philips M. (2018, November 22) *Reinventing digital editions reader insights.* Retrieved from https://www.twipemobile.com/reinventing-digital-editions-reader insights/?utm_source=JournalismCoUK&utm_medium=Blog

Postigo, H. (2016) The socio-technical architecture of digital labor: Converting play into YouTube money. *New Media and Society,* 18(2), 332-349.

Poettker, H. (2000). Using Journalism Theory to Establish Journalistic Quality Standards. In Loeffelholz, M. *Theories of Journalism* (pp. 375-390) Wiesbaden: VS.

Press, G. (2018, April 8) *Why Facebook Triumphed Over All Other Social Networks.* Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/gilpress/2018/04/08/why-facebook-triumphed-over-all-other-social-networks/#45228e946e91

Picard, G. (1998). The Economics of Tabloidization. Observations from the British and American Experiences. Unpublished paper, presented at the Euricom Colloquium on Tabloidization, University of Westminster, London, 9-13 September.

Redondo, I. & Aznar, G. (2018). To use or not to use ad blockers? The roles of knowledge of ad blockers and attitude toward online advertising. *Telematics and Informatics.* (36(6)), 1607-1616

Roses Campos, S. (2011). Journalists' salary structure in Spain during the crisis. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social.* (66), 922-944.

Rayson, S. (2017, June 26) *We Analyzed 100 Million Headlines. Here's What We Learned (New Research).* Retrieved from https://buzzsumo.com/blog/most-shared-headlines-study/

Rowe, D. (2011). Obituary for the newspaper? Tracking the tabloid. *Journalism*, 12(4), 449–466.

Rubin, H. J.& Rubin, I. S. (2005). Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data. *Thousand Oaks*, *CA: Sage.*

Rabionet, S.E.. (2011). How I learned to design and conduct semi-structured interviews: An ongoing and continuous journey. *Qualitative Report,* (16), 563-566.

Sontheimer, M. (1941). Newspaperman: A Book about the Business. *New York: McGraw-Hill*

Sherwood, M., & Nicholson, M. (2013). Web 2.0 platforms and the work of newspaper sport journalists. *Journalism*, 14(7), 942–959.

Simmons, M. (2017, April 15) *Journalism faces a crisis worldwide – we might be entering a new dark age.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/apr/15/journalism-faces-a-crisis-worldwide-we-might-be-entering-a-new-dark-age

Statista. (2017, February) *Distribution of traffic sources for top online news stories in the United States in 2017,*. Retrieved from https://www.statista.com/statistics/672285/news-traffic-source/

Stilwell, F. (2002) Political Economy: The Contest of Economic Ideas. *Oxford University Press*. 3-10.

Stelter, B. (2018, June 9) *CNN's Anthony Bourdain dead at 61*. Retrieved from https://cnn.com

Statista (2018, June) *Circulation of newspapers in the United Kingdom (UK) as of June 2018 (in 1,000 copies)*. Retrieved from https://www.statista.com/statistics/529060/uk-newspaper-market-by-circulation/

Statista (2017, March) *Net digital ad revenues of Google as percentage of total digital advertising revenues worldwide from 2016 to 2019*. Retrieved from https://www.statista.com/statistics/193530/market-share-of-net-us-online-ad-revenues-of-google-since-2009/

Sözcü. (2019) *Plus ayrıcalıklarını yaşa*. Retrieved from https://uyelik.sozcu.com.tr/kayitpromo

Sipalan, J. (2018, April 2) *Malaysia outlaws 'fake news'; sets jail of up to six years*. Retrieved from https://www.reuters.com/article/us-malaysia-election-fakenews/malaysia-outlaws-fake-news-sets-jail-of-up-to-six-years-idUSKCN1H90Y9

Scholz, T. (2012) Digital Labor: The Internet as Playground and Factory. *London: Routledge*

Schmiede, R. (1996) Informatisierung und gesellschaftliche Arbeit – Strukturveränderungen von Arbeit und Gesellschaft. *Virtuelle Arbeitswelten. Arbeit, Produktion und Subjekt in der „Informationsgesellschaft"*, 107-128.

Schostak, John. (2006). Interviewing and Representation in Qualitative Research Projects. *Open University Press*

Schoepp, K. (2003) *The Tenets of Good Qualitative Research*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/28966265/The_Tenets_of_Good_Qualitative_Research

Showkat, N. &Parveen, H. (2017). *Non-Probability and Probability Sampling.* Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319066480_Non-Probability_and_ Probability_Sampling

Sonderman, J. (2016, February 1) *Best practices for product management in news organizations.* Retrieved from https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/publications/reports/white-papers/product-management-best-practices/

Sandoval, M. (2013). Foxconned labour as the dark side of the information age: Working conditions at Apple's contract manufacturers in China. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique.* 11(2), 318-347.

Stake, R. E. (2000). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of*

qualitative research, (2), 435-454.

Survey Monkey. (2019) *Likert Scale.* Retrieved from https://help.surveymonkey.com/articles/en_US/kb/Likert-Scales

Schatz, H.&Schulz, W. (1992) Qualität von Fernsehprogrammen. Kriterien und Spainer, G. (2018, November 29) *Daily Mail's online ad sales overtake print.* Retrieved from https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/daily-mails-online-ad-sales-overtake-print/1519855

Perspektiven Methoden zur Beurteilung von Programrnqualität im dualen. Fernsehsystem. *Media Perspektiven* (1), 690-713.

Turner, G. (1999), Tabloidization, journalism and the possibility of critique. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2(1), 59-76.

Turner, G. (2018). The media and democracy in the digital era: is this what we had in mind? *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy*, 168 (1), 3-14.

Terranova, T. (2004*)* Network culture: Politics for the information age. *London: Pluto Press.*

Tag News (2019, January 4) *Journalist of Radio Azattyk detained in Aktobe*. Retrieved from https://kaztag.kz/en/news/journalist-of-radio-azattyk-detained-in-aktobe

The Wall Street Journal. (2000, July 3) *Vicente Fox Wins Election, Ending PRI's Grip on Mexican Presidency*. Retrieved from https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB962620220470638063

Timberg, C.; Dwoskin, E. (2018, July 6) *Twitter is sweeping out fake accounts like never before, putting user growth at risk.* Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2018/07/06/twitter-is-sweeping-out-fake-accounts-like-never-before-putting-user-growth risk/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.adf48c6a0c40

Trakhtenberg, A. (2007) Transformation Without Change: Russian Media as a Political Institution Cultural Phenomenon. *In Media and Change.* 122-130

Tedlock, B. (2000). Ethnography and ethnographic representation. In Denzin, N. K.& Lincoln, Y. S. *Handbook of qualitative research*. (pp. 455-486) *Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.*

Tomtom, (2019, May 12) Tomtom Traffic Index. *Tomtom.* Retrieved from https://www.tomtom.com/en_gb/trafficindex/list?citySize=LARGE&continent=ALL&country=ALL

The Public Domain Review. *2018, February Yellow journalism: The "fake news" of the 19th century*. Retrieved from https://publicdomainreview.org/collections/yellow-journalism-the-fake-news-of-the-19th-century/

Urban, J.&Schweiger, W.. (2014) News Quality from the Recipients' Perspective, *Journalism Studies,* 15(6), 821-840.

van der Wurff, R, De Swert, K & Lecheler S. (2018) News Quality and Public Opinion: The Impact of Deliberative Quality of News Media on Citizens' Argument Repertoire. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 30(2), 233–256.

van Krieken, R. (2018). Celebrity Society: The Struggle for Attention. *Melbourne: Routledge*

Victoria University Wellington, (2017, March) *Being frank about fake news.* Retrieved from https://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/news-events/victoria-public-lecture-series/previous-lectures/being-frank-about-fake-news

Watkins, Anne. (2018, December 4). *Guide to Advertising Technology.* Retrieved from https://www.cjr.org/tow_center_reports/the-guide-to-advertising-technology.php

Warnick, L. (2018, October 23) *The Most Engaging Stories of 2018. Chartbeat.* Retrieved from http://blog.chartbeat.com/2018/12/18/most-engaging-stories-2018/

Wardle, C. (2017, February 17). *Fake news. It's complicated.* Retrieved from https://medium.com/1st-draft/fake-news-its-complicated-d0f773766c79

Wiener, H. (1988) Papers for the Millions. The New Journalism in Britain, 1850 to 1914. *New York: Greenwood Press*

Warzel, C. (2012, November 7.) *BuzzFeed's First Election Night.* Retrieved from https://www.adweek.com/digital/buzzfeeds-first-election-night-145063/

Wessler, H. (2008). Investigating deliberativeness comparatively. *Political Communication*, (25), 1–22.

William Ernest, H. (1947) Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle. *Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

Willens, M. (2018, December 12) *'There's a huge demand': Why product manager is the new pivotal role at publishers.* Retrieved from https://digiday.com/media/product-manager-pivotal-role-publishers/

Warke, T.W. (1986). International variation in labor quality. *The Review of Economics and Statistics* (68), 704–706.

Will, Mari. (2018). Technology in the Newsroom. *Journalism Studies*, 19(9), 1366-1389.

Xia, B. (2014) Digital Labour in Chinese Internet Industries. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique*. 12(2), 668-693.

Yıldırım, A. & Şimşek, H. (2013). Sosyal bilimlerde nitel araştırma yöntemleri, *İstanbul: Seçkin Yayıncılık.*